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BRAVE and wise was the stand Premier Briand took in putting the brakes upon French imperialism and foregoing the invasion of the Ruhr. As always happens when a leader intrenches himself upon the right and unqualifiedly adheres to it, he won a shining victory in the Chamber of Deputies, and put an end to the nonsense that he would fall if he did not press Germany by further force. We care not what the reasons were: whether it was American financiers who showed him the economic error of his ways, or whether it was a belief that the sword of Damocles is more effective in suspense than when used, or whether it was English pressure. We wish, of course, that the real motive might have been the truth of a certain saying: "And the nation to whom they shall be in bondage will I judge," and an appreciation of the fact that generosity even to a hated enemy pays better than bayonets. But the fact is that the outlook in Europe is brighter today than for many months and that at last the French politicians appear to be coming to their senses. In Silesia, too, the French seem to have cooled down; all now depends upon the effect of the arrival of the fresh British troops. The balm of the billion now paid down by Germany in accord with her pledge, and the assurance of the British Solicitor General, Sir Ernest Pollock, that the war trials now going on at Leipzig are being ably and fairly conducted ought still further to calm the French mind and aid in a juster judgment of the whole situation. For the further acts of war it has escaped Europe and all of us may be devoutly thankful.

IT'S a merry, merry time they are having in Balkanized Asia Minor. Having sold out the Greeks by making a secret treaty with Mustapha Kemal and the Turkish Nationalists, the French had hoped to cart away the spoils at their leisure. But the Turks will not stay bought. They are so set up over their successes against the Greeks that, according to a dispatch to the Chicago *Tribune*, they have raised their price to the French and are demanding the port of Alexandretta and equal rights with the French in the sector of the Bagdad railway in Cilicia. The French have therefore rushed Franklin-Bouillon to Angora with the news that Constantine, with the connivance of the British, is planning to seize Constantinople for the Greeks. The Turks are thus delicately advised to expend their energies in the neighborhood of the Bosphorus. Asia Minor has seen some devious diplomacy in her day, but probably never such a sequence of double-dealing as she has witnessed in the actions of the Allies since the armistice of 1918.

APPARENTLY it was a tentative, not an ultimate, "ultimatum" that George T. Summerlin was instructed to take back to Mexico City. Indeed, a half-hearted and partial denial was made by the Department of State on the heels of the Associated Press dispatch announcing the "ultimatum." Since then nothing further has been heard of the alleged demands, the first of which was that in order to gain our recognition President Obregon must set aside his country's constitution in relation to the nationalization of subsoil rights (i.e., the control of oil). But words are less important than intentions in this issue, and it is of sinister significance that, at this moment when British oil interests are more or less accepting the situation in Mexico, our companies are pressing hard for terms that if accepted will mean the overthrow of Obregon, and if refused will give an excuse for intervention. Meanwhile, the oil propagandists are preparing a gullible public for an invasion which will be necessary to "save Mexico" and "safeguard civilization." Of course, the apex of moral turpitude nowadays is to be "radical." Hence, that is how Mexico must be blackened, or, if you will, reddened, in order that we may shoot her up with a benediction from Bishop Manning and his ilk. Thus the New York *Times* for May 29 prints an article by Stephen Bonsal on the "Red Flag in Mexico," urging us to rescue the "honest" and "law-abiding" Mexicans from bolshevism and the fate of Russia. President Obregon might well send an ultimatum to Mr. Harding demanding that he remake our Constitution to the extent of taking away the rights in subsoil publicity now enjoyed by our oil interests, and some others.

DARING and quickness of wit—in these the Irish far excel their oppressors, and it is largely for that reason that the British military forces are making no headway whatever in Ireland. Daring and quickness of wit explain, too, the astounding destruction of the Dublin Customs House, the fiscal headquarters of the Crown in Ireland, right under the eyes of Dublin Castle. It is not only a terrific financial loss to the Government—it brings the British close to the point when the world will begin to laugh at them, and the day upon which that happens will, paradoxically, be a serious one indeed for Lloyd George. Meanwhile, this added proof of how ready Irishmen are to die for their cause ought to show Westminster once more the utter folly

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of the Lloyd George-Greenwood policy. On both sides men perish needlessly every hour because these two men will not admit failure. They have had it set forth in the public press, as many times as the fall of the Soviets has been announced, that the "murder gang" was at the end of its rope, that peace was about to be restored. They are making of Ireland a wilderness, but they are making no peace. They are driving the Irish more and more to desperation and to acts like the latest Dublin occurrence. One of their own officers, General Crozier, is out with testimony as to the atrocities of Black and Tan officers still in the service—charging theft and attempted murder of prisoners in two cases.

AN election carried on under the auspices of murder and riot necessarily loses much of its significance, so that the Unionist successes reported from Ulster are less impressive than they should be. The result is also complicated by the fact that the voters exhibited a tendency in several cases to mark the first name appearing on the ballot, and as the names were printed in alphabetical order this upset several definite predictions. (Since some voters were reported to be approximately two years old this tendency is easy to understand and sympathize with!) But allowing for these difficulties it is plain that Ulster went to the Unionists by a considerable majority. The question is, now that the Unionists have the six counties, What are they going to do with them? What sort of a government can they establish in a section of country hopelessly divided into violent opposing factions and dependent economically and in every other way on the rest of the country—which is solidly republican? The southern parliament will not sit—the people being thoroughly satisfied with their own Dail Eireann—and Ireland will be as far from peace as ever.

EGYPTIAN Nationalists are even more violently opposed to the Milner proposals for home rule than are British conservatives—and with more reason. They believe that these proposals rob Egypt of its birthright of complete freedom and perpetuate a system of British tutelage if not of downright control. Consequently the moderate Egyptian mission appointed to discuss the projected reform in England with British officials has aroused resentment among the Nationalists and their leader, Zaghlul Pasha. The riots in Alexandria doubtless sprang from a variety of causes, but this resentment was at the bottom of them, coupled with a desire to discredit ahead of time the efforts of the mission. Such methods, however, are likely to result only in tightening the noose around Egypt's neck. The British are not to be frightened by a show of force; already the press is beginning to compare the present disorders with the outbreak forty years ago that led to the original British occupation. The cause of liberty in Egypt is strong, but the people of Egypt are weak. They should keep their cause before the eyes of the world by a steady display of self-control.

THE proposed constitutional amendment, introduced in the Senate May 2 (by request) by Senator Jones of Washington, will, if enacted into law, prevent the present widespread misrepresentation in Congress, in the electoral college, and in political conventions. It provides that representation in Congress shall be based upon the actual vote cast at the preceding presidential election. This would prevent Mississippi's having eight representatives in the House when in 1920 it cast but 82,492 votes, while Rhode Island, with only three representatives, polled 167,386 votes. The actual voting strength of Mississippi, if exercised, would be 786,613; of Rhode Island, 358,517. What can be done to bring out the possible vote? Senator Jones's proposed amendment would tend in a measure to do it though not breaking down race prejudices. Our country should not endure upon its present non-representative basis. If representation were provided for in the present Congress according to votes actually cast, Mississippi would have but one member in the House, while Rhode Island would continue with its three. In the electoral college Mississippi would have three members instead of ten, but Rhode Island would continue to have five. In political conventions there would be a similar much needed reduction.

POSTMASTER-GENERAL HAYS deserves all praise for his granting of second-class mailing privileges to the *Liberator* and for the sound principles he laid down in so doing. It seems like a step backward into a long-lost America to have him reciting principles enunciated by our greatest men, such as that the liberty of the press is cheap at the price of some license and that its liberty must be preserved, but it is a profoundly gratifying call to real Americanism. It will always be one of the curious facts in our Alice-in-Wonderland politics that it was the great liberal and revolutionary reformer, Woodrow Wilson, who struck such blows at the press and chose such low-grade mentalities as those of Burleson and Lamar to do the work, and that it was the reactionary Republicans who at least began the undoing of the injuries inflicted by Mr. Wilson. As we go to press comes the good news that Mr. Hays has also granted to the New York *Call* and the Milwaukee *Leader* those mailing privileges of which they should never have been deprived. These are wise steps forward, most heartily to be acclaimed.

HAVING accustomed ourselves to deporting aliens merely because we do not agree with them, it is not unnatural that some should wish to apply the principle within our own borders and, by a kind of local option, enable each city to select its inhabitants. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. What is fair for the alien is fair for the citizen. What the nation may do, the city is also privileged to undertake. So doubtless reasons the mayor of Portland, Maine, who has ordered that all "non-resident" marine strikers leave the city or be arrested as "suspicious characters." Well, why not? If law and liberty and elementary human rights are to be flouted, why not go the whole hog? Why not be a 100 per cent czar while one is about it? As to the Seamen's Union, it ought also to be 100 per cent. It ought to defy this mayor as flatly as he is defying the Constitutional provision that "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," even though they are so depraved as to be "non-resident." And if this mayor finds any court to support him, the Seamen's Union ought to rush its members to Portland on every train until the granite quarries of the State are exhausted in the construction of jails to hold them all.

FRIENDS of disarmament must work incessantly if they are to get any results from the present Administration other than sounding brass. Senator Borah's success in getting the Senate to accept his provision in the Navy Appropriation Bill asking the President to call a British-

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Japanese-American disarmament conference is only a beginning. Although the Senate accepted the Borah proviso with the understanding that Mr. Harding had withdrawn his objection to it, the New York *Tribune* reports that the President has returned to his opposition and that the measure will therefore be resisted in the House. Meanwhile, let the country speak! The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church has just adopted a wholehearted disarmament resolution, and even the National Security League is advocating a good program, except for its insistence on compulsory military training for our young men.

EVIDENCE continues to accumulate both in Chicago and New York of the Gargantuan system of graft and price-fixing that has ruled in the house-building industry and the enormous tribute that the public is paying to it in high rents. Samuel Untermyer, as counsel for the Lockwood Committee in New York, recently brought out that the rules of the Association of Architectural Iron Workers, an employers' association, provided that its members were to charge $144 a week for the services of a finisher and a helper for which they paid $47—an advance of more than 200 per cent. But the sequel of the inquiry is taking the usual course. Grafting labor unionists have been sent to jail—and rightly—but employers convicted of violating the State's anti-trust statute are getting off with fines. Mr. Untermyer, who had been giving his services in the prosecution of these cases, has therefore withdrawn. Fines are worse than useless, as the violator of the law not only goes scot free but adds the amount of the fine to the already outrageous production costs—and passes it on to the defenseless public.

TO undue publicity and to the psychology of playing to a gallery of the whole world Francis Ouimet lays the defeat of our American golfers in England. The "mental hazards" of the game, he says, put an early end to their efforts to capture the British amateur championship. But, curiously enough, this same psychology affected the tried British veterans one after another until they, too, all succumbed and the prize went to an unknown golfer, Willie Hunter, of Deal, who carried it off by the amazing score in the last match of 12 up and 11 to play. All of which throws into startling contrast once more the difference between the amateur's mental attitude and that of the professional. The professionals play better in the lime light than ever; the size of the gallery makes no difference and reversals of form are rare. Of course, we were not of those who expected an American victory at Hoy Lake. We have been playing golf for three decades, the British for centuries. They have an easy way of keeping in good golf form while active in other fields that we have no more acquired than have our 'varsity crews learned the English art of training without subordinating everything else to it, of rowing for the pleasure of it even when one prepares for a four-miler. Yet, both on the water and on the links, American adaptability and nervous skill do wonders and some day we shall have a team to turn the tables—perhaps when there is not the "complete golf atmosphere" of which Mr. Ouimet complains.

ONE of the most remarkable archaeological discoveries of the century has been made in Mexico City, which now, thanks to the curiosity of Francisco Gamoneda, chief clerk of the ayuntamiento (city council), boasts a series of archives of the municipality running back to January, 1524. Long buried in a sealed cellar under the palacio municipal, the lost documents seem nevertheless to be in an excellent state of preservation, and will probably stimulate the city to found a museum with them as a nucleus. While a full description of these precious materials is not yet available, the facts already made public must excite historians everywhere. What would Irving or Prescott not have given for a sight of the plans of the city as laid out by Cortez himself, or of that great volume "nearly three feet square and six inches thick, containing colored drawings of the costumes of the Aztecs, as observed by some Spanish artist in the train of the Conquistadores"?

PERHAPS it would be just as well if the conditions of the Pulitzer awards for literature were not stressed too much when the announcements come to be made. Consider the situation this year with regard to the prize for the best novel of 1920. That it goes to "The Age of Innocence" will arouse argument among those who think "Main Street" more powerful, "Moon-Calf" more beautiful, "Miss Lulu Bett" more dexterous, but no one can help smiling a little at the news that Mrs. Wharton's brilliant knife-edged satire upon the little New York of the seventies receives the prize because it best presents "the wholesome atmosphere of American life and the highest standard of American manners and manhood." And there is "Miss Lulu Bett," which, failing to win first honor among novels, has a second chance and wins honor by its dramatic form—because it best represents "the educational value and power of the stage in raising the standard of good morals, good taste, and good manners." We suspect that the late Mr. Pulitzer had in mind something very different than that his prizes should go to art which holds the mirror up to nature with such devastating results. But though these awards are odd in view of the terms which condition them, they are encouraging in view of the indication that satire runs as good a risk as sugar in this annual race. There is, however, a great deal more sugar than satire in "The Americanization of Edward Bok," adjudged the best biography. As to the best book of American history, we speculate with interest upon the question who did most to make "The Victory at Sea" great, Admiral Sims, or his collaborator, Mr. Burton J. Hendrick.

"Shakespeare would have delighted in Charlie Chaplin, declares George Bernard Shaw, in giving his support to a scheme for using the Shakespeare Memorial Theater at Stratford-on-Avon for cinema performances"—London dispatch.

SHAKESPEARE in his cool Valhalla hears a clatter;
Summons Dogberry and asks him what's the matter.

"Wits contending," says the tipstaff, "jay and raven,
Whether movies shall invade the sacred Avon."

"Gosse says: 'Vulgar—very, very, very, very!'
'Paul's Cathedral will come next,' snaps George Saintsbury.

"Sidney Lee——" Says Shakespeare: "Never mind the others—
Amiable men, no doubt, but not my brothers."

"Bernard Shaw?" The tipstaff brandishes his saplin':
"Why, he says you surely would like Charlie Chaplin."

Shakespeare settles back and orders mellow liquor:
"Leave the snarl to G. B. S. He is my vicar."

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The Real Crisis in France

FOR over a year now France has said to Germany and the rest of the world: "If Allied diplomats won't make Germany pay, French soldiers will." She meant it. Although exhausted, she mobilized two military classes. France is war-mad on the subject of reparations. More than one Frenchman declares, in answer to the suggestion that shooting Germans will not produce money: "If Germany doesn't pay and our soldiers go in and ruin her, so much the better." Why this wrath? French apologists in our press explain that France has not recovered her moral balance, that she gravely needs funds to restore her devastated regions, that she is resolved, alone if necessary, to execute the Treaty of Versailles. These explanations are plausible; but there is another motive stronger than them all. It is—fear of bankruptcy.

Unless Germany pays, France faces financial collapse. Those who would really understand the European wrangle over reparations should take a look at French public accounts. They show that France is heading straight for a financial crisis. Even granting that Germany does pay—and few students of the problem will admit that—it is inconceivable that she will pay soon enough to forestall impending events. The greatest misfortune of the French people today is not the failure of Germany to pay but that France is helpless if Germany does default. The French people believed their politicians when they said that Germany would pay, and elected them. Whereupon the politicians spent the money before it was received. Thus, France, victorious, now faces the "great illusion." Now we are assured regularly of the "remarkable spirit of recovery" in France, and, in connection with the new $100,000,000 loan in this country, of the rapid decrease of her foreign debt. What are the facts?

There are no audited figures of French public finances since six years ago. It is necessary, therefore, to use the official figures published in the *Journal Officiel* and in the budgetary documents printed for the use of members of Parliament by the Finance Commission. If we take the figures for 1920, since they are now fairly complete and since the budgetary estimates for the present year are, in the main, the same, the total expenditures for last year appear to be 56 billion francs. They were met by 20 billions of taxes and 36 billions secured by various forms of loans. Let us glance at the receipt, and then the expenditure, side of this balance sheet.

First, the loans. Long-term loans provided 21,450 millions and short-term loans and borrowings from the Bank of France provided 14,527 millions of the total of 36 billions. This means that 40 per cent of the borrowings of last year were an addition to the floating debt. Now 96 per cent of these short-term borrowings were sales of National Defense bonds which run from one to twelve months and are sold at the rate of about one billion a month. As they are brought in for redemption they are renewed instead of being paid off. These bonds were outstanding in April to the extent of over 47 billion francs. So plentiful are they that they are used for making ordinary payments. They are known in France as "interest-bearing money." In so far as they are used as money they add to the fiduciary inflation. The 5 and 6 per cent *rentes* sold in the two popular loans of last year comprise most of the long-dated indebtedness incurred. They were used also, to some extent, by the Government for making "cash" payments.

By an arrangement with the *Rente* Section of the Bourse and the Government no French *rentes* can be sold legally except through the Bourse. But the prices of the various *rentes* are "pegged" and kept so high that few buyers are attracted, and a very large quantity of them is therefore constantly overhanging the market. Some sales are effected outside the Bourse at lower prices, but the risks involved discourage large dealings. The difficulties of longer continuing loans like these are obvious.

Now as to taxes. Much is made by the French of the fact that their tax returns for 1920 were four times greater than before the war. But since the franc today, because of inflation, averages about a third of its value before the war, it is obvious that the revenues collected in 1920, measured in pre-war, or gold, francs, are less than one and one-half times, and not four times, greater than before the war. With a debt burden increased some four or five times (calculated on the basis of gold francs) and the interest charges on this debt absorbing more than two-thirds of all revenues received, the French tax burden is not even doubled. Why? For one thing there is a special difficulty in the way of French tax reform: France, before the war, resorted almost altogether to indirect taxes for revenue. Efforts to impose an income tax always raised a storm of protest. This gave rise to that cruel jest to the effect that a Frenchman will give his sons to his country but not his money for taxes. The desperate needs of peace have not been able to overcome this prejudice against the income tax. More than three-fourths of the taxes collected in France last year were indirect, or consumption, taxes, which fall heaviest upon the masses of the people. The income tax collected in France last year was *less than 4 per cent of the total return.* Instead of a rigorous effort to increase this latter category of taxes, there has been recently an active political campaign to have them reduced or eliminated! The new "business turn-over" or sales-tax instituted with high hopes last summer has been so largely evaded that returns from it have fallen lower and lower until the return for last March was only 35 per cent of the budgetary estimate.

Another outstanding financial disappointment in France last year was the failure of the Government to keep its convention with the Bank of France to repay some two and a half billions of its borrowings from that institution by the end of the year. As a consequence, the currency note issue of the Bank of France stood in April last more than a billion francs higher than the same month last year. The French Government argues that the two popular loans of last year not only enabled France to "balance" her budget, but funded some 15 billions of short-term indebtedness into long-term safe obligations. Conversions effected by these loans did, it is true, change some 12 per cent of the total short-term debt into long-term debt. This is in itself, in days such as these, a magnificent effort; but the futility of it lies in the fact that during the same year the floating debt was increased by exactly the same amount through the continued sale of National Defense bonds. Finally, French exchange is depressed by speculation and intrigue and by extravagance resulting in inflation at home.

As to expenditures in 1920. It is impossible to secure an

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exact statement of what France spent last year; the Finance Commission declared that it didn't know; and the Finance Minister himself told Parliament he was unable to give them the figures. He admitted the charge of the Commission's chairman that "the French Government has no bookkeeping." The Finance Ministry knows how much it received. None of it was left; therefore it must have spent it! In this fashion it accounted for 48 billions of expenditures. Besides this it is known that at least seven other billions were spent for deficiency budgets and for semi-secret budgets such as the "Special Treasury Services."

Since the armistice France has been each year and is yet this year spending considerably more than twice her revenue. The deficit for 1919 was 36 billion francs; for 1920 it was about the same; and this year, the third year of peace, it bids fair to be even more. These vast shortages piled on top of the war debt have created a total public debt for France of nearly a third of a trillion francs. Can France, without drastic financial reorganization, conceivably handle any such debt as that?

No War With England

VIII. Ireland and British Imperial Policy

TO draw a parallel between the German invasion of Belgium and the British military occupation of Ireland is not accurate in its application to other peoples and the effect upon international relations. The sudden German violation of the treaty was not like England's long holding of a conquered people and the devious postponement and ultimate abrogation of the home-rule measure. From Belgium we heard chiefly of the atrocities practiced by the army of occupation on the people and little of the other side, if there was one. From Ireland come reports of both sides; the resistance of the people is far more desperate in the face of apparently insuperable odds. They will not yield and they go on apparently with absolute readiness to die to the last man.

The German invasion of Belgium was more a reason than a cause for our entrance into the recent war. Other and more fundamental causes being present, it gave us an additional moral vindication, an emotional impetus. The Allied propagandists made full use of it, and without it the path of those who willed the war would have been infinitely more difficult. British oppression of Ireland is today fraught with greater mischief to the relations between the United States and Great Britain than anything else. If the Irish issue gets actively into American politics, it may readily go like wild-fire, as the Cuban issue did after the explosion of the Maine. Already resolutions recognizing the Irish Republic have been introduced into State legislatures and Congress. American ammunition has been found in Ireland, while President Harding has taken a more important step than he realized in advocating American relief for stricken Erin. What if the Democratic Party should seize upon Free Ireland as a burning issue to retrieve its fortunes in 1924, if the Irish have not won their battle by that time? Who can say after our fighting Germany in France and Russia at Archangel that Ireland is further from our doors in 1921 than Cuba was in 1898? As a matter of fact there is a considerable parallel in the incidents of the Irish invasion to those of the Belgian, even though an Edith Cavell is still lacking. From the deep storehouse of ill-will which it has furnished could be brought forth explosive material enough to set the nation ablaze with anger.

Most of the current differences between Great Britain and the United States are still not in the dangerous stage, but they concern important economic tendencies and political policies which will require much delicate handling in the years to come and a generous patience and confidence. If we want to avoid the development of serious cross-purposes and understand how to do so, we can probably accomplish our end. But if at every turn and crisis we have to meet an embittered and determined hostility to everything British on the part of a considerable portion of the American population, it will be immensely more difficult to make the necessary adjustments along the way. Take the matter of imported British manufactures as an instance. If Great Britain is to pay us the interest on her debt, she must sooner or later increase considerably her exports to us of manufactured articles. But there is a well-organized boycott by the Irish against British services and goods which, it is said, has already had a serious effect. And the movement to erect tariff barriers which will have a similar result, although it originates with quite a different group of our citizens and one outwardly pro-English, will probably be supported by the Irish sympathizers when they see that its passage will harass the British. If it proves to be impossible or unduly dangerous for us to insist on full payment of the British debt, the Irish sympathizers will be certain to oppose its reduction by one penny.

It is worth noting that the very American interests which support most strongly movements for high tariffs, large navies, full payment of the debt, a large merchant marine, and other policies likely to embarrass the British are in general those which are most adulatory of British imperialists and conservatives, most vociferous in expressions of Anglo-Saxon solidarity, and most bitter in their denunciation of Sinn Fein. When it comes to economic matters, Englishmen would do well not to place their trust in this element of American society. In the long run it will be bad policy to do so. At the moment these lords of finance and industry happen to be in the saddle, but they never have been and never will be popular with the majority of Americans. The fact that they are now the most indefatigable and outspoken friends of England is likely to create much unwarranted anti-British prejudice among the rest of us. And it is the rest of us upon whom Englishmen must count, in a pinch, to support reasonable and conciliatory policies against the greed of the profiteers and the aggression of the industrial chauvinists. The place of Americans of Irish descent should be normally with the liberal forces in our political life, and these liberal forces will be robbed of much of their effectiveness if in matters affecting directly or indirectly Anglo-American relations the Irish sympathizers are forced into an unnatural alliance with the American imperialists.

It would be a mistake, moreover, to think of the reaction of Americans to the Irish problem purely in terms of the activities of the Irish sympathizers. The outstanding fact

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with regard to the relations of Great Britain and the United States is that they are now the leading financial, commercial, and manufacturing nations—far ahead of any others. Their natural tendency is not only to become increasingly competitive, but to engage in a rivalry for mutually exclusive dominance. If this tendency is to be curbed, under the present economic order, it must be curbed by comprehensive understandings between the two peoples—understandings so comprehensive as to amount almost to an alliance. There must be a substantial harmony between them in international affairs if their purposes are not increasingly to cross each other. But such harmony presupposes a broad basis of confidence.

There are two possible conceptions of the British Empire, one of which arouses friendliness in the ordinary American, and the other of which does not. The first is the conception of a world-wide commonwealth of self-governing peoples, equal to each other in pride and power, and held together voluntarily by their mutual advantage. It is a vision of a group of liberal nations, open to the enterprise of all on equal terms. If Americans could feel toward the whole British Empire as they usually feel toward Canada, Australia, New Zealand, they would have little hesitancy in associating their purposes closely with it. But there are enough discordant elements in the British Empire to evoke occasionally the other picture. It is a picture of a group of Tories, insensitive, bullying, persistent, shrewd and often hypocritical, who through their enormous wealth and political power, backed by great navies and armies, contrive to hold large areas of the world in involuntary subjection. There is in England's historic development basis for both of these conceptions. The latter was the England we saw when we began, and when we emerged from, our Revolution. It took nearly a century to begin to see the other England at all, and some cannot see it yet.

The amazing thing is that the Lloyd George Government does not realize that the martyrization of Ireland is much too costly merely from the point of view of relations with the United States. Just as long as that horror goes on, as long as the Irish are denied that self-determination which was one of the objects of the United States in the war, the danger will remain of sudden and tempestuous outbursts of public feeling in this country against the mother country, for some day the American public will realize that men who are willing to suffer and die like the Irish today are afflicted with intolerable grievances. When that day comes American public sentiment will swing, as it historically always has, to those who are fighting for liberty. Foremost Englishmen, like Mr. A. G. Gardiner, lately editor of the *Daily News*, and Lord Northcliffe himself, have recently stated that there were three parties to the Irish controversy, Ireland, England, and the United States, and it is useless for our Tories to assert that it is Britain's affair. While the fathers, brothers and sons, yes, the mothers and sisters, of Americans are the victims of brutality and murder overseas, such vaporing is worse than futile. The call of blood—of spilt blood—will drown out all else. What a pity it is that the American Anglophile societies cannot realize this and use their great influence with Lloyd George for an immediate solution of the problem, lest there be a repetition of the history of 1898 and America again go to the rescue of suffering islanders—at a frightful cost. There are thousands of Irish in America who are today doing their best to bring this very thing about.

Propitiation and Art

THE error that art should be cheerful is a tenacious one. It is held everywhere by persons of a certain cast of mind. But in America it slips even into the lower sorts of criticism, seeking to veil its real character under such words as "depressing," "painful," "unnecessary." It has, in fact, nothing to do with any exercise of the critical faculty, but is related to that coil of ancient propitiatory superstitions which caused the Greeks to call the furies "gentle creatures" and impels even civilized people in their weaker moments to knock on wood. Its genuine though carefully screened significance is: *Absit omen!* The presence of tragedy in literature or art inspires the primitive-minded with a direct and personal fear. They have an obscure notion that misfortune is "catching," like mumps or measles; that to contemplate it is to be somehow in danger of incurring it. They are convinced that the proverbial ostrich actually became invisible. From that conviction there have arisen in America, as everyone knows, powerful and wide-spread religious cults. To substitute bland and rosy concepts for harsh and troublesome realities seems to many thousands of people an effectual way of guarding themselves from contact with a world which they believe in their hearts to be a jumble of accidents, wherein lightning can be averted not by a rod but by a formula.

The wonder, things being as they are, is not that popular plays, stories, pictures, and tunes are fatuously cheerful, but that any other sort of art is tolerated at all. Most minds nurse a residuum of the superstition that things can be mastered not by comprehension but by magic, and all desire to avert evil from themselves. It is for this reason, not for any aesthetic one which, by comparison, is negligible, that the success of certain recent books and plays among us has been so heartening a symptom. To seek to control life through a knowledge of it is the first sign of a civilized temper. To be dissatisfied with glamorous catchwords and glossy surfaces and easy ways to health and happiness is the beginning of wisdom. And in order to control life it must be raised into an object of the reflective consciousness through art. Whether such art be idealistic or naturalistic in method matters little. "Medea" and "Lear" are as veracious as "Mme. Bovary" or "Esther Waters." The only art which is futile is that which, whatever its form, tampers with the essential character of man and his world, substituting accident for causality and deliberate cheerfulness for the sober tones of truth.

The humblest critic, moreover, tempted to yield to the propitiatory superstition he shares with the public, should be given pause by even such slight knowledge of the history of literature and art as he may be supposed to possess. Upon no cosmic theory does man travel toward a conventionally cheerful goal. Homer's great hero amid the shades envies the wretched hind in his master's field; Paradise is lost in Milton's poem; Faust's ultimate salvation was achieved through no earthly happiness and brought him no mortal content. There is no smile on the countenance of Michelangelo's Moses or Rodin's Adam; Beethoven passes from gloom and tumult to a solemn serenity. He never touches cheerfulness upon that path. To understand the circumstances of mortality, to know what such a being as man can expect, and then to contemplate such knowledge —that is as near as art can get to any steadiness of joy.

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Alsatian Alsace

By LEWIS S. GANNETT

I. Alsace and Lorraine

ALSACE is not French; nor is it German; it is Alsatian. That is a fact which the Germans never got through their heads, and which the French are neglecting. Alsace is a border country with a long tradition of its own, with customs and habits and drinks of its own, with a speech of its own which is a dialect of German but is distinctively Alsatian. The Alsatians never thought or spoke of themselves as Germans when under German rule; they do not think or speak of themselves as French today; they distinguish themselves as "Alsatians" from the "French"—who prefer to call themselves "français de l'intérieur." They wanted to return to France but not to become French; they expected, under French rule, more local freedom and autonomy; and they are disappointed in finding that they have less local self-government, and that the French want to root out a tongue which they have spoken for near a thousand years. They do not want to return to Germany; far from it. Few of them even want independence; they want self-government, preservation of their local speech, customs, and laws, within the French Republic.

In all this I speak of Alsace, not of Alsace-Lorraine. Alsace-Lorraine is a compound word of German origin; it names the territories annexed by Germany in 1871, which are not a homogeneous unit. For whereas Alsace is a geographic and historic entity, speaking, except for a few small valleys, a common tongue, Lorraine is a fragment and a compound. The boundaries of Alsace are clear; but Lorraine is a vague term. The Germans annexed only a part of Lorraine; old Lorraine had its capital at Nancy, on the French side of the 1871 frontier. Today Lorraine students refuse to be attracted by the University of Strasbourg, and prefer to go to their own Lorraine university at Nancy even though its faculties be less lustrous. Annexed Lorraine was a series of valleys and plateaus geographically related less to Alsace than to the Lorraine which continued French, and the tremendous industrial development of the iron fields on both sides of the frontier has made the two Lorraines more than ever an economic unit. Alsace is separated from the rest of France by a mountain-range and a language. Lorraine has no mountain-range to bar it, and the linguistic frontier is well within the 1871 line. A third of annexed Lorraine always spoke French. A large part of German-speaking Lorraine is today a great industrial scar, a series of smoky coal-and-iron cities, a sort of Pittsburgh region in more senses than one. Nearly a hundred thousand immigrant Italians work there; nearly half as many Poles. The Germans who form the bulk of the industrial population are not native to the region, but are immigrants, too, with no roots in the soil, men who have deserted their homes to seek their fortunes in a strange country. The problem of their assimilation to France is like our American problem of assimilation of the alien and often transient immigrant; difficult enough, but utterly different from the problem with an old people such as the Alsatians who still live on their own soil amid their own traditions. Neither Alsatians nor Lorrainers think or talk of "Alsace-Lorraine"; they think and talk of Alsace or of Lorraine. I shall here confine myself to Alsace.

II. A Bit of History

It is perhaps worth while to recapitulate a little of the unadvertised history of the first half of November, 1918—the half before the French entered Strasbourg. Alsace had its revolution, just as did the rest of Germany. The workers and the soldiers—the soldiers, chiefly—proclaimed the workers' republic on November 9, and formed a Council of Workers and Soldiers which very effectively preserved order and prevented plunder while the returning German soldiers were pouring homeward across Alsace. They flew the red flag from the cathedral tower. German officers, if they ventured on the streets of Strasbourg in those days, did so in civilian clothes; otherwise they were subject to attack. In Metz, Colmar, Haguenau, Mulhouse, and other cities similar councils were formed. At the last moment the German Government in Berlin tried to make the over-long delayed concession and grant Alsace-Lorraine full local autonomy within the German Empire. The mayor of Strasbourg, Dr. Schwander, and the leader of the Alsatian Centrum Party, Karl Hauss, tried to form a government on this basis, but in vain. Dr. Schwander left Alsace on November 13; Hauss retired to his printing-shop. Instead the elected members of the lower house of the Alsatian Landtag met and selected from among their number a ministry—called a "provisional executive committee"—in which the Socialists and the strongly pro-French interests were heavily represented. They proclaimed themselves a National Council on November 12, and declared it to be "the urgent duty of all officials to remain at their posts and continue their business as previously" and asserted that "the protection of the law will continue to be accorded to all circles of the population without distinction." Announcement was made to Berlin of the formation of this council, and Ebert and Haase replied for the imperial Government wishing the council success. Meanwhile the Strasbourg Municipal Council had reorganized, had elected the Socialist Peirotes mayor, and had voted to cooperate with the Council of Workers and Soldiers in maintaining order. The soldiers objected to the display of the French tricolor; a compromise was reached whereby the soldiers took the red flag down from the cathedral tower and the municipality decided not to fly the tricolor. The municipal council confirmed a declaration of the National Council that officials who remained at their posts would be retained and well treated—a promise later most grievously broken.

On November 15 the French entered Mulhouse; on the 16th, Colmar; on the 17th, Metz; on November 22 General Gouraud entered Strasbourg. It was a tremendous occasion. The people of Strasbourg were ready to celebrate, and the French helped. Yards of blue, white, and red bunting were imported (from Frankfurt, much of it!), Alsatian costumes were brought in (mostly from Paris), the streets were decorated, Strasbourg had white bread for the first time in years, the weather was perfect, the military display gorgeous. The enthusiasm was real; those who regretted the change were so assured of it that they decorated too in self-protection. Had the French had the political sagacity to take a plebiscite at once, the result would have been an almost unanimous vote for attachment to France,

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and the plebiscite question would have been settled once for all. Fête followed fête. On November 25 Marshal Pétain entered Strasbourg; on November 27 Marshal Foch; on December 9 President Poincaré.

Meanwhile the Government was taking a new form. The Soldiers' Council had vanished with the last German troops on November 18; the Workers' Council, as unwelcome to the new rulers, soon followed it. The National Council, on December 5, issued this proclamation welcoming the French:

> The elected deputies of Alsace and of Lorraine, who have constituted a National Assembly, cordially welcome the return of Alsace and of Lorraine, after a long and cruel separation, to France. Our provinces will be proud to owe to their restored mother country a new era of freedom, of growth, and of happiness, as well as the protection of their institutions, their faith, and their economic interests, which has been solemnly guaranteed to them by the leaders of the victorious armies. . . . The return of Alsace and of Lorraine and their reunion with France is final and independent of any negotiation

The reference to the promises of the French generals, made when the French first entered Alsace in 1914, is significant. Much of the recent fight against the policy of "Francisation" is based upon Marshal Joffre's promise to respect the traditions and institutions of Alsace. There were members of the National Council so intensely French that they wanted to omit the reference to that promise, but they were voted down. But the vote of the National Council made little difference; the council, after all, was itself suspect as a revolutionary product without legal standing. The French ignored it, and it soon died of inanition. Alsace, under French rule, has no elected representative body of its own; it is governed by French officials even more completely than it was by German officials. In French eyes the history of the previous forty-eight years in Alsace was a horrid blot, to be forgotten; in Alsatian eyes it was an uncomfortable period of Alsatian development, to be built upon. The Alsatians had fought long to win their representative parliament from Germany; it was abolished. The government for a time was put in charge of three commissioners, one for Lorraine, one for Upper, and one for Lower Alsace, the Strasbourg commissioner having an ill-defined authority over the others and being in turn responsible to a ministerial secretary in Paris. A "Superior Council" formed about half and half of Alsatians and Frenchmen, appointed by the Government, was established as a transitory measure. This was later expanded into a Consultative Council including also the Alsace and Lorraine deputies and a few members indirectly elected by the departmental councils which had been elected in December, 1919, but it still has only consultative powers. The arrival of M. Millerand as General Commissar in March, 1919, brought a certain centralization of administrative control in Strasbourg and a corresponding gain in administrative efficiency. His successor, M. Alapetite, is still in office. Alsace is still governed by Parisians, aided chiefly by "revenants"—the Alsatians who had lived for fifty years in exile. However fine may have been the gesture of their departure, they are not looked upon as heroes in Alsace today, or even as men in touch with present-day needs and developments—rather as slackers.

III. Grievances

Government from Paris does not necessarily mean oppression; but it is very likely to involve mistakes and misunderstandings. The difficulty of including Alsace and Lorraine within the administrative system of France should not be overlooked. France is not, like Germany, a federal state; it is one of the most highly centralized states of Europe. Here were provinces which were henceforth to be a part of France. They had a different legal code, a different railroad system, different administrative methods, a different relation of church and state, a different school system. Throughout the length and breadth of France all these things are uniform. It used to be the proud boast of a Minister of Public Instruction that at any given hour he could tell just what the pupils were studying in every school in France. The various "departments" of France have almost no local self-government; their governors, called "préfets," are named from Paris. Now there is in France a "regionalist" movement which would like to see this system changed, to have the departments grouped together in larger units with a certain historic and economic unity, and to give these regions a degree of self-government which would relieve France of some of the burden of bureaucratic centralization in Paris. The regionalists saw in the return of Alsace and of Lorraine an opportunity for initiation, if only locally, of their dream. The Alsatians and Lorrainers naturally welcomed the idea, although they wanted two departments instead of one. Routine officialdom naturally opposed the plan. The result has been a temporary compromise which satisfies no one. As regards the administration of the schools, the railroads, the law courts, the civil service, there is an undertone of profound discontent. The Alsatians say of themselves that they are stubborn squareheads, accustomed to centuries of fighting against all manner of rulers; and some Frenchmen say that they have so got the habit of opposition during fifty years of German rule that it may take them another fifty years to recover. But the Alsatians also consider themselves superior to either French or Germans; they believe that they have German administrative efficiency without German stiffness and gracelessness. They say that the German law code in vogue in Alsace is more modern than the French, that their civil-service regulations are more satisfactory, that their social insurance system is preferable to the French lack of system, and that in these matters France would do better to learn from Alsace rather than attempt to force Alsace back to 1871 methods. They disliked many of the Germans, but they believe in German system, and they insist that many of the administrative changes introduced in Alsace since 1871 have been Alsatian, not Prussian, in origin. "A little more order, a little less liberty" is a common phrase in Alsace today.

Of course the Alsatians, like every other people in the world, blame many of their troubles which are really universal phenomena of the world crisis upon their present rulers. But the local language question, and the clerical question with which, in Alsace, it is inextricably involved, are the most significant and most festering of their problems.

The currency question was naturally the first problem to be attacked. The Alsatians had their money in marks, and the mark, normally worth 1.25 francs, had sunk to a value of .81⅓ francs in the month before the armistice and to about .70 a month after. By a decree of November 26, 1919, the French Government announced that all Alsatians and Lorrainers should report the amount of money they had on hand within ten days, that banks should announce their balances as of the end of the month, and that in the

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week from December 15 to 23 this German money would be changed into French at the normal exchange rate of 1.25 francs to the mark, after which the German money would be legally invalid. The operation cost the French Government more than two billion francs; it was extremely generous, and politically wise, although far more costly than had been anticipated. Some details of the valorization of German papers held by Alsatians are still unsettled, and many Alsatians who could not return until after the general valorization had their difficulties with bureaucratic stupidity. A writer in the New York *World* recently charged that in this valorization Germans and German sympathizers were discriminated against. I investigated this charge with some care. It was, naturally, not the intention of the French Government to give German citizens the benefit of such an artificial and generous exchange rate; and the cases of Alsatians who did not return from Germany until after December 15 were examined with what must have seemed unnecessary punctilio. But Alsatians of intense German sympathies with whom I talked assured me that there had been no discrimination against pro-German Alsatians as such; on the contrary they told me that a great many Germans took advantage of the French Government and induced Alsatian friends to change their money for them! I believe the *World's* charge to be quite unjustified.

Under German rule Alsatians were systematically kept in the lower administrative posts; all the high posts were held by Germans. Under French rule, Alsatians charge, the system is little changed. The French now hold the high posts; the Alsatians are kept down. This is one of the most universal complaints. All the school inspectors, almost the entire faculty of the University of Strasbourg (except the theological staff), all except the lowest ranks of judges, all the higher postal and railroad officials are "French of the interior." From the French point of view this is inevitable. The Alsatians who might be advanced have been trained in German methods; many of them do not speak French easily; and the immediate necessity is to swing Alsace over into the French system. As soon as Alsatians become thoroughly trained in French methods, the French say, they can be advanced. I think the French are perfectly sincere in this, and have no desire to dominate; the trouble is fundamentally that many Alsatians are not ready to accept the supposed necessity of immediate Francisation, and believe that in Alsace today ability to speak German is more important than knowledge of French. They resent, too, the fact that French officials are, or until recently have been, better paid than Alsatians of the same rank. French civil officials going to Alsace were at first paid, in addition to their salary, a "metropolitan indemnity" such as is paid to officials in the colonies as compensation for the supposed necessity of maintaining two establishments. This is no longer paid to new officials coming from France, but those who came early still profit by it. The German civil servants, too, had excellent civil-service regulations; they had a fixity of tenure, a regular system of promotion and of pensions which has seemed to risk destruction in the process of amalgamation. As regards the insurance system, at least, the ideal solution is almost on the point of realization; a bill extending the Alsatian system of social insurance to the rest of France is being sponsored by the French Government! And, as rising prices have added more serious grievances to those which distinguished them, French and Alsatian civil servants have found their wants essentially common, and after two years of bitter fighting each other they have joined forces to fight the Government. The complaint has lost its local character.

Space lacks to tell the stories of other grievances—the difficulties in applying French law; the opposition of the railroad workers to the attempt of the French Government to sell the Alsatian state line to a private French company which the workers rightly regard as a less efficiently operated concern; the long fight of the French port interests against the port of Strasbourg which claimed and won the right to import goods via Antwerp without paying the special taxes provided for ocean-carried goods entering France by other than a French port; the labor troubles between German-speaking workmen and French-speaking foremen; infinite other difficulties which have flamed resentfully in Alsatian breasts and in the Alsatian press, which have left their unpleasant mark, but which are not of lasting import. The language question persists and will long persist; and the deportations, while of less political importance, are perhaps the greatest stain on French rule in Alsace.

[*To be continued.*]

Good Union or Bad?

By GEORGE SOULE

ON the face of it the victory of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in the New York market does not look like a victory for revolution. Last fall the union and the manufacturers, operating under the usual impartial machinery which provides for peaceful adjustment of all disputes, began to negotiate about wages, piece work, and such matters. After many conferences a settlement seemed in sight when the manufacturers suddenly issued an ultimatum containing demands which no union could accept—including individual bargaining. The union did not accept them, whereupon the manufacturers refused to negotiate further, broke up the arbitration machinery, locked out their employees, and entered upon an attempt to destroy the union. Now, after six months, the few irreconcilables have resigned from the manufacturers' association, and the rest have capitulated. What is the result? Does the union march in with red flags and take possession of the factories? Does it throw bombs into the City Hall? No, it simply restores constitutional government in the clothing industry, and proceeds to negotiate at exactly the same point where it left off six months ago. There will be a reasonable settlement, arrived at in view of the facts, about wages, piece work, production standards, and so on.

But Senator Lusk tells us that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is a very, very bad union. It is industrial. It is radical. It is revolutionary. The New York manufacturers, when they precipitated the recent struggle, told us the same thing. They did not really care much about lowering wages, increasing profits, and all that sort of thing. They were fighting for a principle. They were protecting Americanism against the encroachment of "sovietism." They even entered a suit for dissolution against the union, asking at the same time for damages of half a million dollars, on the ground that it was a conspiracy to seize their property and destroy their business. In view of the events which led up to the trouble this would seem like an unwarranted assertion. It would seem as if the class

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of employers were quarreling with the class of employees about the processes and proceeds of industry, and as if the class of employers had said, We insist on our own absolute rule in this matter, and as if the employees had said, We insist on the preservation of an industrial government which gives us a voice. Nevertheless, the manufacturers pointed, not to what the union had done, but to what it had said. First of all, they pointed to the preamble of its constitution. This preamble begins with a few general statements.

> The economic organization of labor has been called into existence by the capitalist system of production, under which the division between the ruling class and the ruled class is based upon the ownership of the means of production. The class owning those means is the one that is ruling, the class that possesses nothing but its labor power, which is always on the market as a commodity, is the one that is being ruled.
>
> A constant and unceasing struggle is being waged between these two classes. In this struggle the economic organization of labor, the union, is a natural weapon of offense and defense in the hands of the working class.

So far one would almost suspect that the action of the employers had been carefully designed to demonstrate to the backsliding members of the union the truth of their preamble. The union had been acting as if the struggle between the two classes were not "constant and unceasing." It had been doing its best to perpetuate a peaceful means of settling disputes. But the employers would have none of that. Labor being "on the market as a commodity," and the supply of that commodity being in excess of the demand, the employers had deliberately renewed the struggle, intrenched as they were in "ownership of the means of production," and resolved as they were to rule. This action led the workers to use their union as a natural weapon of defense. It proves out like a problem in geometry.

The preamble then goes on to point out that, in order to be effective, unions must have a structure corresponding to the structure of industrial organization, that modern industrial methods have largely wiped out demarcations between crafts, and that unions must therefore be organized by industries rather than by crafts. That seems like a reasonable inference. And recent events would also tend to support the following statement: "The same forces that have been making for industrial unionism are likewise making for a closer inter-industrial alliance of the working class." Then comes the paragraph at which the employers raise their hands in horror.

> The industrial and inter-industrial organization, built upon the solid rock of clear knowledge and class consciousness, will put the organized working class in actual control of the system of production, and the working class will then be ready to take possession of it.

Just what does that paragraph mean? The employers, through their counsel, said it means that the members of the Amalgamated have associated themselves together in a conspiracy, plotting at some time in the future to seize their factories. Justice Bijur of the New York Supreme Court, denying the motion for injunction and dissolution, dismissed the sentence as little more than a verbal flourish.

> I think the phrases quoted are quite innocuous. They express some ideal which it is hoped may at some time be achieved. But even if we do violence to its plain intendment and endeavor to read into the literal words a suggestion that it is hoped that the working class shall be put into actual control and possession of the instrumentalities of production rather than of merely the "system" of production, as actually expressed, there is still absent any statement or even implication that this is to be accomplished by forcible or other unlawful means.

So far as the legal implications of the matter go, Justice Bijur is undoubtedly right. But we shall not understand the Amalgamated and its activities, or any similar union, unless we go a little deeper. There is a real difference between most of the labor organizations which Senator Lusk would ignorantly denounce and the old-fashioned unions which by contrast he approves. It is a difference perhaps not in kind, but in degree of self-consciousness, in maturity. What is it that kept the clothing workers struggling year after year against seemingly impossible odds until they finally were able to build a great industrial union which raised them out of the sweatshops and introduced some kind of order into the former industrial chaos of their lives? What is it that has made them stand by this union and render it victorious in a bitter struggle such as the one just ended? For surely no union ever went to battle under more unfavorable conditions and came through with so few casualties. For months before the trouble broke out there had been a severe depression in the industry, and at the moment of the breach there were not only thousands of unemployed, but those who had work had eaten up most of their savings. The vigorous open-shop campaign led the employers to make a determined attack. And to the conflict on the industrial field was added a shower of injunctions, arrests, and suits against the union for sums aggregating millions of dollars. The lockout lasted nearly six months, including the coldest weeks of winter. Yet there were no desertions of consequence from the ranks of the strikers; in spite of all, the employers could not operate their factories. The quality of courage and determination that is required among thousands of workers to endure a long and heart-breaking test of this nature implies something more than the kind of emotion which would be aroused by a quarrel over a few dollars more or less a week. It implies a superb morale, the sort of morale which can exist in an army only through the consciousness of a great cause. There must be here one of those imponderables which give life to patriotism or religion.

At the basis of this morale is an aspiration for a more just social order, which can grow only from a more just government of industry. Like the American colonists of 1776, the clothing workers object to autocratic rule. They recognize the class conflict in their preamble, not because they like it, but because they dislike it and intend to do away with it. They know they can never do away with it by submitting unconditionally. The form of collective adjustment which they have won is like a constitution wrested by a people from a ruling class. To preserve this constitution they are willing to undergo untold sacrifices. As long as they can preserve their constitution, they intend to use it for progressive improvement of the industry which they feel by right is theirs.

It is stupidity of the crudest sort to believe that a deep motive of this sort is destructive and can in the long run injure the people or the culture of America. On the contrary, it leads to trouble only when it is thwarted. Given a chance to grow and function, endowed with recognition and responsibility, it will flower in a higher technique in industry, in a finer spirit in society. It is infinitely more hopeful than the trading instinct, the demand for a few dollars more and a few hours less, to which, according to our Luskers, "good" unions must confine themselves.

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In the Driftway

RAILROAD officials say that a standard minimum wage for their workers is contrary to the ideas "on which American institutions and American progress have been founded and maintained." But there is no objection on their part to a standard minimum wage for capital, such as the 6 per cent provided for holders of railroad stock by the Esch-Cummins law.

* * * * *

THE Drifter culls the following from a letter to him from Lewis Gannett who is traveling abroad for *The Nation*. Having dabbled in journalism in his day the Drifter believes that many a reporter would do well to clip the appended litany and carry it in his wallet or watch-case or wherever else reporters carry precious mementos.

"Alsace cud be made lots more sensational if one had no devotion to truth; more interesting, too. In fact, mulling over the accursed thing yesterday, my thots ran—or stumbled—together into a litany, somewhat thus:

I serve a cold God,
A He-God,
Without Love.
Other Gods are She-Gods,
Warm Gods,
Loving Gods;
They caress those who serve them.
My God resents swelling sound,
radiant color,
fragrant incense.
He is without voluptuousness.
I hate my God.
My God is Truth.

"So much for the state of mind of a second-rate journalist returned to the company of artists and flaneurs in Paris from Alsace and Germany."

* * * * *

MR. EDISON, of course, is only one of many to make unkind remarks about the young men of our colleges. Criticism comes almost wholly from without, however, and it is the failure of the young men themselves to admit, resent, or in any way to react to such strictures that most justifies the things said. Therefore, one notes with cheer the publication of a "Harvard Credo" in the *Proletarian*, a student weekly. In this contribution at least one campus satirist reveals himself and suggests the presence of a "boring from within" that is reassuring. Here are some of the things which a Harvard student is said to believe:

That Calvin Coolidge saved Boston.
That there is a gun base under the Germanic Museum.
That the American Revolution was rather a mistake.
That the supreme experience is kissing a chorus girl.
That, except when used by auctioneers and the Harvard Corporation, the red flag is sacrilegious.
That anarchy is a state of things where one can come to Harvard having gone neither to Groton nor St. Paul's.
That S. Gompers is a distinguished Bolshevist.
That there is a difference between Princeton snobbishness and Harvard aloofness.
That Brother Gamaliel is an island entirely surrounded with best minds.
That Socialists always try to marry money.
That keeping Debs in jail protects Americans.
That free speech, verse, and love are just about the same.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

A Hymn of Hate

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The reason you will lose me as one of your subscribers is *The Nation's* attitude on the Black Outrage in Germany.

I just finished reading, and in part rereading, Lewis S. Gannett's article in the May 15 issue of *The Nation*.

I charge that Mr. Gannett's article and the printing of it on the part of the editors of *The Nation* is an attempt to *whitewash* one of the blackest crimes of all history.

I care not for your motives—whether they be evil or good. We want the truth.

God pity France in the next war—and *England!*

Bogota, N. J., May 23 F. P. WILHELM

[We fear that Mr. Wilhelm, who is District Superintendent of Home Missions of the Atlantic District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, is not displaying a Christian spirit. We suspect that he does not want the truth, and that he has digested some of the mass of propaganda coming out of Germany concerning the "Black Horror on the Rhine." Mr. Gannett made a first-hand investigation; but long before that *The Nation* was in correspondence with mayors of cities and other Germans of standing in the Rhineland in an endeavor to learn the truth. That the quartering of troops—regardless of color—works great hardships on the civilian population is undoubted, and *The Nation* has repeatedly so stated; but the facts in relation to the black troops do not warrant the propaganda campaign being waged, with especial vigor in this country. If the Germans and German-Americans wish to agitate against the injustices which they feel are being inflicted on the German people by the conquerors—forgetting the great responsibility of Germany's former rulers for the situation—they can find ample and valid issues in the move to take away Silesia, in the threatened occupation of the Ruhr, in the attempt to enslave Germany economically for generations. Some prefer to stir up hate over the one issue involved in the location of some divisions of colored troops in the Rhineland, counting on America's well-known color psychosis. This is as mistaken as it is futile. A great many who have been carried into this movement are sincere, but they have been grievously misled by their Vierecks and their Von Machs.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

Natural and Unnatural History

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You cite the inscription on the European bison in the Museum of Natural History, "Described by Caesar, hunted by Charlemagne, and exterminated by the Bolsheviki." That it was hunted by Charlemagne I don't doubt; whether it has now been exterminated, and by whom, are questions on which I am content to keep an open mind for the moment; but somebody ought to hurry to the Museum to tell the curator that it was never described by Caesar. There were in ancient and medieval Europe two big wild beasts of ox kind: the smaller, a short-horned creature known in Anglo-Saxon as *wesend*, in Old High German as *wisunt*, which name the Romans borrowed in the form *bison*, and this name clings to the beast to this day; and the larger, the long-horned beast known to all branches of our Teutonic forefathers as *ur*, described by Caesar under the Latinized form of that name, with mention of its "amplitudo cornuum" and its "magnitudo paulo infra elephantos." Since the wesend survived after the ur became extinct, people began to interpret the ancient mentions of the ur as meaning the wesend; the name "aurochs," the modern form of "ur," was for a while a fully recognized name of the bison; then pedants did the only thing that could further be done to increase the confusion, by starting a movement to restore the

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name of aurochs to the old-time ur. It would be Utopian to expect the public to keep the story straight; but specialists, like those at the Museum, ought to know which was which of two such notable beasts.

The trouble is not at an end with the confusion between the beasts. The old Germans were so rash as to form the compound "ur-ochs" (whence the "aurochs" of today), and sundry modern scholars have made haste to mistake the syllable *ur* in this name for the well-known German prefix meaning "primitive," forgetful of the fact that the form *urochs* was used only while the beast was still extant and while, therefore, nobody would think of calling it as Professor Briggs does in his commentary on Psalms, "yore-ox"; when it passed into the limbo of history and began really to be a yore-ox, its name was no longer *urochs* but *auerochs*. I suppose it is to this confusion that the beast owes its modern Latin name, *Bos primigenius*.

But if Professor Briggs has mistaken the meaning of *ur*, at least he has got the right animal, and is so far better than Professor Haupt, who in his Polychrome Bible argues that the Hebrew *reem*, the "unicorn" of the familiar English Bible, cannot be the ur because the *reem* was a long-horned creature and the bison is short-horned.

Ballard Vale, Mass., May 11 STEVEN T. BYINGTON

Educators, Not Militarists, Needed

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am glad that you called the attention of your readers to the fact that New York State has abandoned compulsory military training. I was one of three who attended the Senate Military Affairs Committee's public hearing to favor Senator Mullan's bill for repealing the Compulsory Military Training Law. I sat for over two hours listening to the speeches of old men, young men, and boys, waiting to make my plea that the education of the youth of our State should be in the hands of educators and not of military men. During this time I got many interesting sidelights on why military training is popular with some people. A number of the speakers looked like the "anyone who can govern by military rule."

There are two points which I should like to see given greater publicity. First, everyone who favored compulsory military training seemed to have a direct or indirect financial interest arising out of it; second, Senator Mullan said, in his introductory remarks, he had been in favor of military training until he saw what it did to his own boy.

New York, April 27 MARGARET LORING THOMAS

Let Us Be Fair to Russia

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Considerable rhetoric has been expended of late to convince the American people that just so long as citizens of this country are imprisoned in Soviet Russia all pleas from Moscow for recognition will be ignored. It is not the purpose of the writer to justify the incarceration of fellow-Americans by Soviet authorities. But all Americans who value human freedom as the most sacred of all rights must remember with a feeling of shame and humiliation that men and women of Russian birth who left the land of their fathers to settle in the republic across the sea have been brutalized, beaten, and jailed in the country which they had been told was a haven of hospitality and goodwill to the lowly and oppressed. Who of us forgets that thousands of American soldier lads were sent into the bleak, windswept steppes of northern Russia to do battle with a long-suffering people against whom no American true to the traditions of '76 and '61 had any grievance?

Would it not be best for us as Americans to confess in all candor our own shortcomings ere we attempt to silence the hopes and aspirations of 180,000,000 Russians who look to us as leaders in the onward march to civilization?

Dorchester, Mass., May 20 VICTOR GERTLIN

Oil and Mexico

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the issue of *The Nation* of April 27 there appeared an article by Mr. Paul Hanna on Mexico's relations with the United States, the first part of which is in regard to the oil situation. Being assured, as I am, that *The Nation's* policy is to fight fairly and not to permit the public to be misled by any articles appearing in its columns, I ask your attention to the following statements made by Mr. Hanna and to the following comments concerning them. The main point in his bitter arraignment of the American oil companies is perhaps the following:

> It has been carefully concealed from the American people that land ownership in Mexico has never, since the Spaniards came there, carried with it any title to the sub-soil deposits or any right to exploit them. . . . Owners of grazing or agricultural lands have always had to recognize the state's ownership of everything under the surface; and the Constitution of 1917 reaffirms that principle.

In my article which you published October 5, 1918, I quote the exact language of the law of the Mexican Mining Code of 1884, established sixteen years before the commercial development of the petroleum industry commenced in Mexico. May I requote a part of Section 10 as follows:

> Art. 10. The following substances are the *exclusive property* of the owner of the land, who may, therefore, develop and enjoy them without the formality of denouncement or special adjudication: . . .
>
> IV. Salts found on the surface, fresh and salt water, whether surface or subterranean; *petroleum* and gaseous springs, or springs of warm or medicinal waters.

Mr. Hanna had apparently not thought it worth while to even glance at this statute, but was willing to be regarded as stating in the most unqualified manner that owners of lands "always had to recognize the state's ownership of everything under the surface."

The most effective comment upon his statements is to point to the statute above quoted, and say nothing further.

In the next place, eight years afterwards, in 1892, another law was passed which in different language affirms the same identical principle. I quote from it as follows:

> Art. 4. The owner of the land may freely work, without a special franchise in any case whatsoever, the following mineral substances: *mineral fuels, oils,* and mineral waters.
>
> Art. 5. All mining property legally acquired and such as hereafter may be acquired in pursuance of this law shall be irrevocable and perpetual, etc.

In 1909 another mining code was passed which likewise maintains precisely the same principle. It says:

> Art. 2. The following substances are the exclusive property of the owner of the soil:
>
> I. Ore bodies or deposits of *mineral fuels,* of whatever form or variety.
>
> II. Ore bodies or deposits of *bituminous* substances.

From the foregoing it therefore appears, not as a matter of argument, but of positive demonstration that at no time between 1884 and 1917, when the Queretaro Constitution was adopted, did the nation of Mexico claim to be the owner of petroleum underneath the surface, and, on the contrary, that that nation expressly and at all times had declared that the owner of the land owned the petroleum beneath the surface of the land.

It seems to me that a great deal of trouble would be saved—it certainly is so as to the Mexican petroleum situation—if those who purport to write upon a given subject which involves a study of any particular law would take the trouble to first read the language of the law.

If space permitted I could readily show you how the principle embodied in these three laws was not merely controlling during the period of 1884 to 1917, but was, as a matter of fact, controlling ever since the days of the dominance of the Spanish Crown; for an analysis of the various somewhat conflicting de-

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crees issued by the Spanish kings will show that even in those days clear distinctions were drawn between metalliferous minerals and non-metalliferous minerals, the former belonging to the patrimony of the Crown and the latter being exempt therefrom.

Since Mr. Hanna's entire attack upon the American petroleum companies is based upon the theory that the Constitution of 1917 "reaffirms" the principle which he supposes to exist, to the effect that the nation always owned petroleum, it is evident that the demolition of his major premise is fatal to his conclusion.

In the same column he refers to "the invading capitalists," stating that:

> Ten years of revolution, moreover, gave them both pretext and opportunity to flout the laws and decrees of successive administrations or to denounce them before the world as the looting devices of adventurous upstarts.

The language is, one may say, somewhat spirited; but the facts are that no American capitalists have ever flouted any law or decree of any Mexican administration except in the sense that they have strenuously fought, and always will continue to fight, the alleged laws which purport to take from them the property which they bought and paid for in the best of good faith and pursuant to the terms of the mining codes which I have quoted above verbatim.

If these men were "invading capitalists," it is certainly true that the invading was done at the express invitation of the laws of the country that was "invaded." Shortly after the phrase just quoted, Mr. Hanna says:

> The retroactive application of that clause (i.e., Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917) decreed by Carranza and still in effect, has been especially attacked by the oil interests as a just cause for military intervention by the United States.

I am much interested to see that Mr. Hanna himself characterizes this article of the Constitution as applying *retroactively*. This seems at first thought to indicate that Mr. Hanna possibly knew a little more about the laws of 1884, 1892, and 1909 than he might be given credit for knowing; because if, as he says below, land owners "have always had to recognize the state's ownership of everything under the surface," manifestly the Constitution of 1917 was not retroactive, and the fact that he uses the word "retroactive" in that connection would seem to be inconsistent with any other theory than that he knew that, as a matter of fact, petroleum belonged, under the laws of 1884, 1892, and 1909 to the owners of the surface.

The last phrase of the sentence just quoted accuses the "oil interests" of urging "military intervention by the United States." This statement is an easy one to make and it has been easily made by hundreds of the upholders of the Carranza confiscatory program.

No person has ever stated any facts from which any such conclusion could be properly drawn, and there are no facts which can be thus stated, for the American petroleum companies are not and have not been interventionists and have always believed and still believe that if the situation is handled in a dignified and firm manner by the United States Government, no intervention will be necessary.

Theré is a very simple way of testing the sincerity of this statement, and that is if the Obregon Administration will immediately take steps to do away with the confiscatory provisions of Mexico's Constitution and laws as well as with the acts committed under those provisions.

The next sentence contains the bold statement:

> I doubt if that [i.e., the annulment of the retroactive application of Article 27] will satisfy them [i.e., the American oil interests], since their real desire is for a right of way to the still undisclosed oil deposits and not a simple acknowledgment of title to their present rich holdings.

A statement of this sort has no place, it seems to me, in the columns of a journal of the standing of *The Nation*. Not a word or an act on the part of any American petroleum company can be cited in support of such a conclusion. The statement has no basis in fact or in intention, and is simply a demonstration of a vindictive and hostile attitude on the part of a man who seeks to be considered as an authority upon a subject of very great national and real importance, but who either has not read the laws which lie at the foundation of the entire situation or who, if he has read them, has deliberately misquoted them.

I shall await your reply with the greatest interest and shall hope that no reason exists why the American petroleum producers should not be accorded the same privileges at the present time as those which you were so good as to extend to them in 1918.

New York, May 3 FREDERIC R. KELLOGG

MR. HANNA'S REPLY

Mr. Kellogg demands authority for my statement that landowners in Mexico "always had to recognize the state's ownership of everything under the surface." My authority is the Spanish common law and the Mexican Constitution of 1857, which was first violated by Porfirio Diaz when he gave the oil interests the fiat code of 1884, behind which Mr. Kellogg takes refuge. In the days of Porfirio Diaz there was no constitutional lawyer of higher repute in Mexico than Señor Manuel Calero. In discussing the third special Diaz dispensation, that of 1909, Señor Calero said:

> According to our juridical traditions in mining matters, all the mineral deposits and *inorganic substances* of the country's subsoil first belonged to the Spanish kingdom. . . . The system was perpetuated during our independent period, and the *Mining Code of 1884 is the* FIRST *Mexican legislation that brought about really important innovations which were expressly forbidden in Article 72 of the Constitution* (1857) *of the Republic.*

As proved by their wording, and the fact of their enactment, the three laws cited by Mr. Kellogg were intended solely to tear a hole in the "juridical traditions" which gave the state exclusive title to subsoil deposits. Therefore, as stated by Chief Counsel de la Peña, of the Mexican Department of Industry, "The Constitution of 1917, instead of reforming the Constitution of 1857, when it proclaimed the nation's dominion over the minerals and hydrocarbons, merely preserved the rights of the nation in the same manner in which they were safeguarded by the Constitution of 1857."

Article 72 of the Constitution of 1857 defines the scope of congressional jurisdiction, and in conformity to the common law specifically fails to give the Congress any right to meddle in mining. On December 14, 1883, Diaz jammed through an amendment to Section 10, upon which amendment Mr. Kellogg's law of the following year is based. All good Mexican lawyers knew and said it smashed the old principle, but few or none of them admitted its constitutionality, and it was never tested in the supreme court.

As the whole world knows, Porfirio Diaz tore up the Constitution of 1857 and remained in office more than thirty years, despite Article 78 of the Constitution, which stated: "The President and Vice-President shall enter upon their duties on the first day of December, shall serve six years, and shall never be reelected." The Revolution of 1910-1920, described and summarized in my articles, was a struggle by the Mexican people to destroy Diazism and recover their traditional freedom and control. When I wrote of what had never been constitutionally done in Mexico I certainly did not refer to acts under the *100 per cent unconstitutional regime of Porfirio Diaz.*

Mr. Kellogg says, "No American capitalists have ever flouted any law or decree of any Mexican administration. . . ." Let us see. Mr. Kellogg is general counsel, I believe, for the Huasteca Petroleum Company, owned by Mr. E. L. Doheny. All of that company's concessions in Mexico contain the following clause:

> The concessionnaire company shall be considered as Mexican, being subject, both as to the company itself and as to foreigners who have part in its business in the character of stockholders,

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employees, or in whatever other character, to the laws and courts of the Republic. Never can it allege in respect to the property and business of the enterprise any right of extra-territoriality, under whatever pretext, and it shall have solely the right and means of making them valid which the laws of the Republic concede to Mexicans. *It shall consequently not be able to make appeal under the said business to foreign diplomatic agents.*

After Mr. Kellogg's company, and every other of its kind, have signed that pledge in order to obtain rich concessions, are they flouting Mexican law when they stuff the American State Department with war-making protests and charges against the Mexican Government?

Mr. Kellogg next points to my statement that Carranza attempted a retroactive application of Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917, and then proceeds by use of innuendo to indict my sincerity. I see nothing in that attempt to warrant a reply. Mr. Kellogg then mentions my statement that the oil interests have favored military intervention by the United States, and replies that "no person has ever stated any facts from which such a conclusion could be drawn." Again, let us see. I have before me a copy of the Mexico City newspaper *El Universal.* It contains a letter submitted by Mr. J. Salter Hansen on April 26, 1921. Mr. Kellogg will remember Mr. Hansen as the gentleman who prevented an invasion of Mexico sixteen months ago by suddenly depositing bail for the release of the famous "kidnapped" consul, Jenkins. Discussing Mr. Doheny's professed friendship for Mexico, Mr. Hansen writes in *El Universal:*

Mr. F. R. Kellogg, general counsel for the Huasteca Petroleum Company, made to me verbatim the following statement: "WE SHALL USE THE ARMY AND NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST MEXICO IF THEY DON'T SATISFY OUR DEMANDS. NOW REMEMBER THAT, MR. HANSEN!" The statement was made on or about January 10, 1919, in the office of the Standard Oil Company, 26 Broadway, New York City, in the presence of Mr. C. O. Swain and Mr. Burton Wilson. I knew, of course, that the Constitution of the United States of America does not give the power of using the army and navy of the U. S. A. to a private citizen, but I did not know at the time that Mr. Kellogg was the personal representative of Mr. Doheny and the accoucheur of his policy toward Mexican Governments—with the result that I became furiously angry.

While discussing Article 27 with Mr. Amos T. Beatty, president of the Texas Co., he said to me as follows: "As a boy I was a farmer in Iowa and I can assure you that every farmer in Iowa is ready to sacrifice his life for the sacred rights of our properties in Mexico." As I could not go to Iowa to interview every farmer in that State I was unable to confirm his statement, but I shall not contradict him, as Mr. Amos T. Beatty of the Texas Co. is an expert in the psychology of Iowa farmers.

About two years ago, during a short chat with Mr. Thomas Cochran, a partner of Messrs. J. P. Morgan and Co. and the gentleman in charge of the matter of the Mexican debt, he inspired me with the following remark: "WE ARE GOING TO KICK OUT CARRANZA AND WE ARE GOING TO KICK OUT WOODROW WILSON, AND THEN WE WILL HANDLE MEXICO AS WE DAMN PLEASE."

At one of my conferences with Mr. Chester O. Swain, general counsel of the Standard Oil Company of New York and chairman of the executive committee of the oil men in Mexico, I tried to induce the oil men to change their propaganda and put an end to their policy of trying to arouse hatred against Mexico in the United States. I urged him to speak kindly to and even to flatter Mexico. This is his verbatim answer: "WE WILL DO NOTHING OF THE KIND, HANSEN. THE MEXICANS ARE LIKE DOGS AND THE MORE YOU KICK THEM THE BETTER THEY LIKE IT."

To my statement that the oil interests covet a right of way to the still undisclosed oil deposits of Mexico, Mr. Kellogg replies that "no word or act on the part of any American petroleum company can be cited in support of such a conclusion." Perhaps my conclusion is not sound, but the facts as I understand them are these. Mr. Doheny claims title to some 4,000,000 acres of Mexican land. The law of 1881 requires that all landlords shall file a record of their titles at a public land office. Is it not true that Mr. Doheny refuses to register his title to more than some 550,000 acres of the land he claims? Why does he leave in a state of legal twilight seven-eighths of the territory he aims to exploit?

P. H.

Books

Franco-German Alliance

Les Drapeaux. By Paul Reboux. Paris: E. Flammarion.

WITH France on tiptoe to invade the Ruhr, with England and France at loggerheads over Silesia, and with Germany reduced to a condition of sullen submission, one would think the present an inopportune time to consider a Franco-German rapprochement. Nevertheless the movement appears to be gaining ground in both countries, and particularly in France. There have been various significant signs and portents, and, undeterred by a Chauvinist press and a majority in the French legislature which would willingly see a French army march to Berlin, certain prominent Frenchmen and Germans have been striving for another and better settlement: that is, a Franco-German entente, or better still, a Franco-German alliance.

One of the noteworthy indications of the tendency is the publication recently in a Paris newspaper, in feuilleton form, of a novel which has created a greater sensation and more discussion than any book which has appeared since the armistice. "Les Drapeaux" is by an author calling himself Paul Reboux, who, after unfolding his thesis in romantic guise and filling his readers with a horror of war and its results, argues that the only alternative to another and still more terrible war than the last is a Franco-German alliance, and that on such an alliance the future peace of Europe and of the world depends.

The principal character in "Les Drapeaux" is one Jacques Real, a celebrated French dramatist and publicist, who is on the road to be "crowned" by the Academy. He has served in useful capacities during the war, having been corporal in a hospital to a famous surgeon who since the war has devoted himself to restoring the faces and forms of mutilated soldiers. Jacques Real visits these men in their hospital and finds them terribly neglected. He compares their state with that of the rich profiteers with whom he happened to dine the previous evening, and writes an article describing their condition. He takes it to the famous journal with which he is associated, but it is declined as too depressing.

Real reflects and discusses the position of France with several friends. From one he learns that the Government and the newspapers are controlled by the big banks, that the governor of the Banque de France is virtually governor of France, sharing his power with the Credit Foncier, which so far from being a democratic institution, as many imagine, is feudal in its constitution and methods. In this connection remarkable revelations are made, and the names of such men as Poincaré, Millerand, Viviani, and others are freely mentioned. The exact amounts paid to *Le Matin, Le Journal, Le Figaro,* and *Le Petit Parisien* in return for their support of a Turkish loan shortly before the war are also given. Real finds there are serious men who believe that it would have been better to avoid war with Germany than to fight her, and that the banks and prominent public men are now, for selfish financial reasons, busily persuading the people that undying hatred of Germany was a sacred duty. Incidentally, the financial origin of all wars, especially from the Spanish-American war down to that of 1914, is clearly and categorically demonstrated.

In his researches into the truth, Real discovers how greatly the public was misled during the war by such writers as Lavedan, Barrès, Clemenceau, and others of similar rank, and many of the gross fables which appeared in the press are exposed. A distinguished soldier friend of Real calls on him and declares he is sickened with so-called glory and army life by the abuses he witnessed during the war. A holder of many decorations and two palms, he testifies to the brutality and cowardice of modern warfare, and at the same time foretells that the next war will be even more brutal and horrible than the last, that there will be no more guns and bayonets, but

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simply bombs and bacilli, poisons and gases, and that millions will perish where thousands perished before. He contends, moreover, that it is fear of the Germans today which oppresses the French, while it is fear of the French which causes the bitter hostility of the Germans.

A great factory owner, who shares his profits with his workmen, declares to Real that it would have been better for France not to oppose the Germans than to lose a million and a half of her sons, the flower of the nation, with two millions mutilated besides, as well as hundreds of cities and towns ruined; and that had the Germans established themselves in France they would have done so only to the same extent as in America, where they have conduced to the progress and prosperity of the country. Real goes into the country districts, and arrives definitely at the conclusion that patriotism, like love, is a passion which is likely to develop into a vice, rendering men fearful, jealous, quarrelsome, and hateful, and impeaching sane judgment, and that governments are to blame for making natural affection for one's country excessive and insane to the verge of war.

Ultimately Real visits Switzerland and Germany and realizes the hate which is being sedulously fostered between France and Germany. He recognizes that his own country's population is falling because of the selfish Malthusianism of the people, that Germany's population will be double that of France in ten years. He is also able to note the superior industry, ingenuity, and organization of the Germans, which give a guaranty of their future prosperity. He is thus compelled to realize that the only hope for future peace and progress lies in the cooperation and alliance of the two nations.

Incidentally, the question of the German atrocities is ventilated in "Les Drapeaux," and the author rebuts some of the charges, and demonstrates that such things are the inevitable accompaniment of war, instancing the atrocities of the French troops under Napoleon, and the treatment of the Boers by the British, the concentration camps in South Africa being compared with the deportations by the Germans. Reboux seeks to show that had France been advancing into Germany, and had her generals believed their movements were being overlooked from points of vantage, her troops would no more have spared Cologne Cathedral than the Germans spared Rheims, and moreover that the French themselves actually bombarded the collegiate church of St. Quentin. The conclusion arrived at by Real, who, because of his views, has lost his chance of a seat in the Academy and has had to fight a duel, is that between another war, one much more devastating than the last, and a Franco-German Alliance, he prefers the latter, and that his great ideal is a European League, with France and Germany as its most important factors. JEROME HART

Benedetto Croce

Ariosto, Shakespeare and Corneille. By Benedetto Croce. Translated by Douglas Ainslee. Henry Holt and Company.
Goethe. Con una Scelta delle Liriche nuovamente tradotte. Bari: Gius. Laterza e Figli.

THE writings of Benedetto Croce are a constant and welcome reminder that criticism is neither research nor reviewing, neither a branch of scholarship nor a mere empiric art. It is philosophy—a reaction through the particular to the sum of things, a vision of totality applied to the concrete. A good deal of such philosophizing is, very properly and naturally, unconscious or unformulated. It remains true that every significant critic works with some Weltanschauung which, expressed in his individual judgments and opinions and in his very style, is his ultimate and real contribution to literature, thought, and life. In Signor Croce the process is a highly conscious one. He started out, it is evident enough, as both a philological research scholar and a student of metaphysics. His mind was cradled in Germany, nursed by the portentous methodology of research and the metaphysics of Hegel. At some point in his development a sharp reaction took place. Signor Croce saw that nine-tenths of the research scholars in all countries are dull dogs, that literary influences and source-mongering have a habit of quietly dropping the aesthetic fact by the roadside, and that hence the whole study of literature was in danger of turning into the manufacture of degree and dissertation fodder. He attached himself passionately to aesthetic philosophy. He left even Hegel behind him in his fiery flight. He built an aesthetic and a new criticism around a single central and controlling thought.

A few crucial passages will give us access to that thought. "The true material of art," he writes, "is not things, but the sentiments of the poet which determine and explain one another, why and for what reason he turns to certain things, to these things rather than to others." And each of these sentiments, though "it has really been experienced, is plucked from its practical and realistic soil the moment it is raised to the sphere of poetry and is made the motive of composition for a world of dreams." In that world "it is useless to seek any longer the reality of that sentiment." Experience in the practical world, in other words, undergoes when aesthetically expressed a fundamental change, a change in its very mode of being. Hence it is useless, according to Croce, and even vicious, to seek the sources of aesthetic phenomena in the lives of poets. Poetry is, indeed, expression, pure expression. But it is the expression of some innate devotion to the rhythm of the universe, some general sense of life, some a priori ideal of sublimity and moral dignity. The idea of art as imitation, whether in the stiff Aristotelian sense or in some later and more flexible one, is wholly repudiated. The aesthetic fact is stringently, almost violently isolated and referred wholly to the air- and watertight subjectivity of the poetic mind.

It is clear that such an aesthetic theory is metaphysically grounded. The fact soon appears that Signor Croce is a pure idealist. The world is his creation; causality is not a cosmic law but a function of the mind. And as the idealist builds his conceptual domes of many-colored glass by following what seem to him the necessary laws of thought, so the poet builds up his universe by the independent and unfertilized propagation of aesthetic sentiments. "As though things existed outside the spirit!" Signor Croce exclaims. As though Shakespeare is "either in accordance or disaccordance with external reality!" Like every poet "he has nothing to do with it, being intent upon the creation of his own spiritual reality." There is, one sees at once, an inner contradiction here. If nothing exists outside the spirit, why this eager distinction between an external reality and a spiritual one? Why anxiously isolate the aesthetic fact? How can it be contaminated in a universe conceived as a projection of the mind? These questions are easily answered so soon as we assume, as we must, all that the Crocean aesthetic denies out of existence. Signor Croce's criticism, which is the sum of his aesthetic facts, is the result, like all aesthetic facts, of a very human, very practical passion in his own soul. "There is nothing," Longinus told us long ago, "so eloquent as real passion." "How could Shakespeare," Signor Croce cries, "be truly loved and really felt in an age which buried dialectic and idealism beneath naturalism and positivism . . . an age in which the consciousness of the distinction between liberty and passion, good and evil, nobility and vileness, fineness and sensuality, between the lofty and the base in man became obscured!" The eternal cry of age to youth, of the passing to the coming epoch; the cry of glorified memories, of the fallacy of the golden past. Yet here his real passion speaks and his real secret escapes. A tender mind repudiates what seems to him an ugly, soulless, scientific world. His sensibilities have been rasped and his soul wounded. He isolates the aesthetic world and thus establishes for himself a refuge and a dwelling-place.

What he omits in his dislike of science and his fear of a mechanistic universe is nothing less than the entire psychology of the creative process. Even Shelley admitted the "influence

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of nature and society" on the poet's mind and work; even Hegel speaks of the transformation of a genuine external reality "upon which the poet imprints the seal of his own spirit." Whence come these Crocean "sentiments of the poet which determine and explain one another"? They come from the impact between the poet and his world, from conflict or union, from that practical life of his in which, as Hazlitt said, "natural impressions of objects or events excite an involuntary movement of imagination or passion." And as Signor Croce leaves out the poet's world, so he leaves out his will. Schopenhauer was right when he defined the pleasure of aesthetic absorption as consisting in the elimination of the will from consciousness. And as he who enjoys art yields his will, so the poet appeases his through the creative act. That will demands a freer, more impassioned, more intoxicating, and more harmonious world than reality affords. Thus in his pain he either analyzes and represents the troubling, insufficient world, or else he shatters it and rebuilds it nearer to the heart's desire. In either case he substitutes expression for experience and beauty for beautiful action. The genetic starting-point of art is not art but life. Art is, in the cumbrous but exact terminology of the new psychologists, a compensation mechanism. It is not therefore ignoble. The poet as one who cannot endure a vision of moral chaos and is driven to justify the ways of God to man, or as one pierced by the sufferings of his fellows and impelled to refashion a cruel world through reason and beauty, or as one whose high passions no mortal love or adventure can assuage, is a far more splendid and significant spectacle than the Crocean poet of anterior aesthetic sentiments who drifts from the moorings of his human life out upon some unseen ocean of cosmic harmonies.

By his severe and just strictures on the excesses of the philologists, by giving the death-blow to the classification of unique aesthetic facts, by insisting upon the philosophical nature and function of criticism, Signor Croce has cleared the air and stimulated aesthetic thinking. His positive theory is vitiated by a lack of content, by ignoring fundamental facts of experience concerning which even a small poet, if he were sincere and theoretically articulate, could have instructed him. To ask a critic or aesthetician who is judging a poem or a poet, Could you have done better? is the last conceivable stupidity. It is not too much to ask that he who seeks to explain and judge the creators of art should have felt often enough and powerfully enough their passion and their need to know from within those motives and aims of the creative process which, beneath an infinite variety of substance and of form, are as constant as the nature of man itself.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Russia Still in the Shadows

What I Saw in Russia. By George Lansbury. Boni and Liveright.

Bolshevik Russia. By C. E. Raine and E. Luboff. London: Nisbet & Co.

Sketches of Soviet Russia. By John Varney. N. L. Brown.

The Groping Giant. By William Adams Brown, Jr. Yale University Press.

THE Russian situation remains an unsolved problem over which clash the most violent political passions and economic biases. The quiet and parliamentarian Malone D'Estrange was converted to communism; the radical and half communistic Bertrand Russell came back from Russia an opponent of the Soviets and their methods of force. At times it seems that agreement with or opposition to bolshevism is largely a matter of political temperament.

One great trouble with the Russian problem is that most foreigners who have visited Russia have been neither scholars nor detached serious thinkers, but merely traveling reporters who liked the adventure of getting in and getting out of that strange land. They have had their sympathies and antipathies previously fixed according to their temperament or the editorial policy of the newspapers they represented. That is why there are so few reliable and illuminating reports of what people saw in Russia. With the exception of H. N. Brailsford, Arthur Ransome, Bertrand Russell, and Clare Sheridan, almost all visitors to Russia have failed to grasp both the human side and the historical scope of the bolshevist revolution. The only *incontestable gainer in this world-wide bloody controversy* is the publisher.

Consequently, too many books on Russia are written, and too few of them are worth reading. Their titles are hardly more significant than newspaper headlines, their contents hardly more than superficial accounts of superficial observers written for superficial readers.

The Russian Revolution was unfortunate enough to have been born at a moment when the rest of the world was enmeshed in political and social reaction. The chauvinistic and alarmist governing groups of the world in their attempt to crush Russia drowned the true Russian issues in the mud of slander and the slime of propaganda. The European or American intellectual who was conscious of the moral breakdown of the governments of the world was inclined to espouse the bolshevist cause, not because he knew how it actually worked, but because he saw in it an expression of protest; on the other hand, the less stable intellectual, being opposed to Russian extremism, let himself be thrown to the other extreme and in turning from bolshevism espoused the cause of Mitchell Palmer, Kolchak, and Wrangel.

George Lansbury would seem more accurate had he entitled his book "What I Did Not See In Russia." He went there not so much to see what there was to see as to find out that women were not nationalized, that human beings are human beings even when they are Bolsheviks. In fact, this entire booklet is filled with direct and indirect refutations of what was headlined by the Kolchak press as "authentic or first-hand facts." He describes the economic plight of Russia, trying to show the atrocious results of the blockade and interventions. One cannot expect a thoroughgoing analysis in so small a volume as that of Mr. Lansbury's, but it is regrettable that he did not try to survey the internal factors which were instrumental in Russia's economic collapse independently of the blockade. He was in Russia after the cooperatives were practically dispersed and yet says nothing about this enormous mistake of the Soviets. One would expect a more clear-sighted survey from Mr. Lansbury. Dittmann, for instance, the German Independent, who was a delegate at the Third International, brought home a more impartial account. The German liberals and radicals in general have proved to understand the Russian situation better than their English-speaking friends.

As to "Bolshevik Russia," it is one of the many propaganda writings prepared by unknown writers, strangers in the field of politics and economics but brought to the surface by the continuous demand for "Russian stuff." Despite the many quotations and the abundance of statistics the work is not convincing. One does not need musty statistical data twenty years old to know that Russia is economically ruined. To ascribe this ruin to bolshevism alone is an old method of propaganda. Austria is not bolshevist, and is ruined. Poland is the beloved anti-bolshevist friend of France, and is ruined. Hungary is most respectable under the dictatorship of Horthy, and is ruined. The border states of the Baltic are in a hardly better condition. To ascribe all the ills of Russia to Lenin is nothing else than to attempt to escape the responsibility that burdens the shoulders of the imperialistic and reactionary players of the European game.

More important and more interesting from one point of view are Mr. Varney's "Sketches of Soviet Russia" and Mr. Brown's "The Groping Giant." Both are books by young Americans who as Y. M. C. A. secretaries had the opportunity to travel extensively in Russia. Both men write in a sympathetic, benignant, and somewhat indulgent way, and both possess the character-

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istic naivite of all foreigners who are startled by how different Russian is from the rest of the world. Mr. Varney's sketches are without pretention. This book is a simple good-hearted diary, which would make interesting recitation if its author should read it to his friends at some tea party. Almost three-quarters of a century ago Turgenev gave a more comprehensive series of sketches of the Russian peasant's mind. For more than half a century Tolstoy did it still better. The English-speaking reader will easily find these writings on the shelves of almost all American libraries. Mr. Varney failed to discover anything new and his descriptions seem like the soliloquies of a somewhat dazed observer.

As to "The Groping Giant" of Mr. Brown, one would hardly have anything to add if it were not for the fact that it is published by the Yale University Press and has a subtitle "Revolutionary Russia as Seen by an American Democrat." These appearances should be justified by the content, but they are not. First, one fails to find anything particularly scholarly in this book. It is a half-lyrical half-meditative series of impressions combined with "historical facts" apparently based largely on hearsay. Mr. Brown knew little or nothing about Russia before he went there nor did he become acquainted with the "intelligentsia" whom he discusses in two special chapters. If before writing on the intelligentsia and their influence upon the revolution and on the influence of the revolution upon them, he had made himself familiar with the writings of Lavrov, Mikhailovski, Plekhanov, he might have produced an interesting essay without even going to Russia, where it just happened that he met none of those who may be called the intelligentsia. Instead he seems to confound the intelligentsia with lawyers, men of free professions in general, and ladies who have read a few books and talk politics. As a matter of fact the Russian intelligentsia has not changed since the revolutions. Both their weaknesses and strong points have only been emphasized during the last few years. Mr. Brown has contributed hardly more than a piece of conscientious journalism. This is a great achievement in an age of a corrupt press, but it is a moral rather than an academic achievement. GREGORY ZILBOORG

Books in Brief

FOR France, during the European War, some of the nation's most precious architecture was destroyed; for America it was created. For one person who knew of the cathedral of Rheims before 1914, it is a reality to at least a score since its bombardment by the German army. So with other cathedrals of northern France; it is their tragedy that like certain human lives they are known and appreciated only after they are gone. "How France Built Her Cathedrals" (Harper), by Elizabeth Boyle O'Reilly, comes opportunely to meet a quickened interest in these great monuments of the Middle Ages. Both research and affection have gone into this story of the rise in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the Gothic out of the Romanesque. "A clear comprehension of Gothic is impossible unless the fact be grasped that architecture is nothing if not structural, and that no decoration can avail a faulty skeleton," says the author; and again: "The Gothic master-of-works was right when he said that nothing which was inherently needed could be ugly." To the Abbot Suger is attributed the honor of building at St. Denis the first definitely Gothic structure, dedicated in 1144, from which grew the great craftsmanship that culminated in "the four master cathedrals of France"—Notre Dame de Paris, Chartres, Rheims, and Amiens. In opposition to those who regard the façade of the cathedral of Rheims as the flower of Gothic art, the author prefers the west front of Notre Dame de Paris, "true to its epoch in its appeal to the intellect rather than to the emotions." Of entering the doors of Amiens it is said: "The emotion felt has the efficacy of a prayer." But like many others the author dwells with special affection on the airy yet stupendous monument that lifts itself above the hill of Chartres out of the golden and bronze grain fields of Beauce. "Virile, virginal, aerial, majestic, venerable in youth and youthful in its venerable age, the *clocher vieux* of Chartres is one of the supreme things of the national art." It is well to ponder this age of transcendent handiwork in our own era, when craftsmanship is ignored; when the worker is trained only to produce profits, and must dissipate his energies fighting over the conditions of employment—or for the bare opportunity of employment. Pen drawings by A. Paul de Leslie add to the interest and clarity of the book.

A NEW edition of Shakespeare in what will probably be the customary forty volumes, edited for the Cambridge University press by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Mr. John Dover Wilson, begins now with "The Tempest" (Macmillan). If future volumes follow the lead of this, the edition as a whole will prove agreeable and convenient but not indispensable. Whatever contribution it makes to Shakespeare literature will be credited to Mr. Wilson rather than to Sir Arthur, whose introductions will be eloquent, unoriginal, and sentimental. The value of Mr. Wilson's carefully pondered text will be decreased somewhat by certain compromises which he feels compelled to make between the mere scholar and the mere reader. His urge is toward the primitive text, but his business, he believes, is to be generally effective, so that while he omits the traditional division into acts and scenes he produces a number of unnecessary stage directions from his private imagination, and while he professes reverence for Shakespeare's copy he modernizes the spelling. Perhaps he will be most commended for his punctuation, based on the investigations ten years ago of Mr. Percy Simpson; though here, too, he has been a compromiser.

"FONTES Historiae Religionis Persicae" (Bonn: Marcus und Weber) is the first of a projected series of small volumes, under the general editorship of Karl Clemen, in which it is intended to publish in as reliable and compact form as possible the passages found in Greek and Roman authors which throw light on the history of the great religions of the world. The authors are arranged as nearly as possible in chronological order, with exclusion of those who wrote in the later Middle Ages or who could make no independent contribution to the subject. In the present volume, compiled by Professor Clemen and concerned with the Persian religion, the first writer who is quoted is Xanthus (fifth century B.C.) and the last is Nicephorus Callisti, who wrote about 1320 A.D. The material obtained from inscriptions and from papyri is not included in the volumes of the series. The text of the significant passages is given in full, in each case, with enough of the context to make the connection clear. The best available editions are used, and a critical apparatus at the foot of the page adds variant readings derived from other editions, from manuscripts, and from conjecture. An index of the authors quoted, 138 in number, is given at the end. The result is an admirable little volume, very useful to students who happen to be concerning themselves with the religious beliefs and customs of the Persians. The next booklet in the series, "Fontes Religionis Aegyptiacae," by Dr. Hopfner, will be awaited with interest.

IN his searching little volume, "The Sword or the Cross" (Chicago: Christian Century Press), Mr. Kirby Page presents with force and truth the extreme position against war which must in our opinion be taken by everybody who would be a sincere and loyal follower of the teachings of Jesus. Undoubtedly this book would not have been allowed to circulate during the war, which is but another proof of the fact that all wars constitute in themselves a denial of Jesus and everything that he stood for. Mr. Page does not hesitate to accept the logical consequences of his position. Thus he declares in answer to the question whether war is justifiable as a means of preserving political liberty that "the following of Jesus Christ is infinitely more important than the maintenance of political

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liberty." Had the Bolshevists but had the wisdom to see this at Brest-Litovsk, had they but refused to fight and also to sign the shameless German demands, and thus to resist the German evil, their whole status in the world, and probably their future, would be entirely different. We wish for Mr. Page's little volume what is, alas, an impossible wish, that it be placed in the hands of every school child in this allegedly Christian nation. It would do a world of good and be a powerful weapon in the fight which is now on to save humanity from being exterminated by the very science of warfare which it has lately devised, it being today a problem whether war shall go or civilization perish. Not the least of Mr. Page's service is his final disposition of those phrases of Jesus which, together with the episode of the money-changers in the temple, are so blasphemously cited by the believers in mass-murder to make it appear that Jesus condoned what would have made of all his teachings merely ghastly hypocrisy.

Music

Italy's New Music-Drama

THE musical melodrama, that anachronism of eighteenth-century romanticism which has dominated Italy for nearly two hundred years, has at last fallen a victim to its own absurdities. Rekindled for a moment into a brief but fierce flare by the hot-blooded realism of Mascagni's "Cavalleria," it has finally simmered down into a pallid, feeble glow under the pale passionalism and perfumed phrases of Puccini. In bitter reaction against the degradation and disrepute into which Italian music has thus been brought, there has sprung up in Italy a revolt and an ideal—a revolt against that slipshod and irregular relationship between the text and the score in which the voice alone is supreme, and which is ever ready to sacrifice dramatic action and musical continuity to an "effective" recitative and aria; against, too, those arid wastes of Wagnerian declamation which, in the end, leave one thirsting for a lyrical oasis. And simultaneously with this revolt has come a desire for a more perfect marriage, a more spiritual union between the verbality and the music, a union that will reveal rather than obscure the action.

This ideal fusion of words and voice and instruments has long been the goal of Italy's two most gifted composers, Ildebrando Pizzetti and G. Francesco Malipiero. But while each has made the dramatic element the protagonist, each has approached it differently. With Pizzetti, it is purely psychological, the conventional development of character through plot. With Malipiero, it is the *choque dramatique*—the meeting of two or more antagonistic forces, of opposing elements that can be symbolized by "persons or things, passions or lights," or "the contrary motion of masses."

Pizzetti, for instance, has allowed the words to remain the chief factor. The orchestra furnishes the background, occasionally describing by some well-defined theme an emotional crisis of one of the characters, while the purely lyrical element is used merely to vitalize the poetry, without disturbing its rhythms or its accents. Thus "Fédra" is almost a model of melodic declamation, in which the lyrical flow is unbroken by either recitative or parlando, or the orchestral development by isolated symphonic episodes of programmatic character. There is not a scene that has not its dramatic significance. Even the great chorus of the third act has its dramatic justification aside from its classical perfection.

This elimination of non-essentials, of everything that could clog the action or mar the unity of the component factors, has been carried to even greater extreme by Malipiero, who confesses that, fascinated by the purely lyrical side of the music-drama but repelled by "the absurdity of 'sung words' in the midst of a realistic scene," and equally bored by the ever long Wagnerian declamation, his music-drama "was conceived with the object of removing the recitative by the creation of subjects where the musical element is part and life of the plot and subject." "In my theater," he continues, "there are three elements: (1) The Song, indispensable and necessary, even if one were to represent the subject without music, as a comedy; (2) the Stage, the visible element, which explains the subject without any need of conventional mimicry; (3) the Orchestra, which creates the dramatico-musical atmosphere. The importance of each of these three elements is equal, although, from a purely bureaucratic point of view, it is the orchestra that takes the larger share of the labor."[1]

Malipiero's first and greatest reaction, "Pantea," in which a dancer is the protagonist, is too much of a mimodrama to be discussed under this heading. We have to wait for his "Sette Canzoni" to find a fuller realization of his ideals. These "Seven Songs," to which he has given the sub-title of "Dramatic Expressions," are seven unrelated episodes of contrasting moods, of which the orchestra is the sole connecting link. They could, however, follow each other with great rapidity, as that enlightened critic Guido M. Gatti has suggested, because they could be staged according to Gordon Craig's idea of neutral-tinted screens of uniform height, the variety of atmosphere and color being supplied by lights circulating from above. A later work, "Orpheo," has been treated as an eighth "Canzone," and these two works, to be preceded by a third, "La Morte delle Maschera" (as yet unfinished), Malipiero has designed as together forming three component parts of a uniform idea. This amazing three-act fantasy, with its marvelously woven texture, its incessant play of emotional lights and shadows, is the most boldly conceived musical form that the Italy of today has yet given us. After all, Debussy's "Pelléas" set a certain precedent for Pizzetti's "Fédra," but the "Sette Canzoni" and their companions have no parallel.

A third innovation is being made by the youthful Castelnuovo-Tedesco, who, in his setting to Machiavelli's "Il Mandragola," is trying to revive the classical humor of his native Florence. So far, he has succeeded in bringing back the comic spirit and the biting satire of the Renaissance with a freshness that is almost new, and one looks forward with interest to the outcome of his labors. It is impossible at present to give an analysis of the work, as only the first act is completed; but it promises to take an important place in Italy's musical evolution. It is, indeed, of peculiar significance that Italy should once more be experimenting in the music-drama, for that, after all, is the natural and legitimate expression of a people so supremely endowed by nature with the gift of voice and of mimetic gesture.

HENRIETTA STRAUS

[1] This somewhat lengthy explanatory passage from Malipiero is not taken from any of his writings, but has been especially dictated by him for this article.—H. S.

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International Relations Section

The China Consortium—II

THE INTER-GROUP CONFERENCE AT PARIS AND JAPAN'S RESERVATIONS

FOLLOWING the preliminary exchange of notes between the governments participating in the consortium negotiations, the most important of which were printed in last week's issue of the International Relations Section, the banking groups of the four countries concerned met at Paris on May 11 and May 12, 1919, and adopted minutes and a draft agreement to be made the basis of further discussion. On June 18 the Japanese Government issued two statements relating to certain reservations upon which it felt bound to insist before the Japanese group should enter into any final agreement. The nature of the reservations and the position of the American banking group, the British group, and the British Government will be indicated in the following notes:

American Group to Japanese Group

June 23, 1919

DEAR SIR:

I have before me your letter of the 18th June, delivered to me at London and communicating to me, for the information of the American group, the instructions which you have received from Tokio as to "the rights and options held by Japan in the regions of Manchuria and Mongolia where Japan has special interests." You have, as I understand it, sent a letter in a similar sense to Sir Charles Addis, of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, for the British group, and M. Simon, of the Banque de l'Indo-Chine, for the French group.

For your information I beg to state that I have conferred informally with both the British and French groups, and our views of the matter that you bring us are in accord. We cannot but believe that there is some misunderstanding upon the part of your principals in the matter, for if they were to make such an attitude final the effect upon the relation of Japan to the new consortium would be obvious. Mongolia and Manchuria are important parts of China, and any attempt to exclude them from the scope of the consortium must be inadmissible. The "special interests" to which you allude have, in our opinion, never had to do with economic matters.

The whole question that you bring up is one of such grave import that we feel that it is beyond the immediate competence of the financial groups to discuss, and I am therefore bringing the matter to the attention of the Department of State at Washington. I presume that the other groups will take similar action with respect to their own Foreign Offices.

I have noted your reference to the declaration made by Mr. Takeuchi on behalf of the Japanese banking group and recorded in the minutes of the conference on the 18th June, 1912, at meeting of six banking groups held in Paris on that date. For your information I beg to recall to you that at the same time there was recorded in the minutes of the conference the following declaration: "The British, German, French, and American groups stated that they were unable to accept or consider either of these declarations upon the ground that they were not competent to deal with political questions." This declaration was accepted in conformity with the statement made by the Japanese Ambassador to Mr. Addis in London on the 11th June, 1912.

T. W. LAMONT

Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation to British Foreign Office

9 Gracechurch Street, June 21, 1919

I have received from the Yokohama Specie Bank (Limited) copies of two letters handed by Mr. Odagiri to Mr. Lamont on the 18th instant.

I inclose copies, from which you will see that the Japanese group has informed their London representatives that all the rights and options held by Japan in the regions of Manchuria and Mongolia should be excluded from the arrangement for pooling provided for in the proposed new consortium agreement.

Attention is drawn to the minutes of the Inter-Group Conference held at Paris on the 18th June, 1912, where it is recorded that:

"The Japanese Bank declared that it takes part in the (Reorganization) Loan on the understanding that nothing connected with the projected loan should operate to the prejudice of the special rights and interests of Japan in the regions of South Manchuria and the eastern portion of Inner Mongolia adjacent to South Manchuria."

It is true that we did not object to this statement at the time, but our contention is that the international position has been fundamentally changed by the Peace Conference in Paris, and that any former claims to spheres of interest or spheres of influence are no longer admissible.

The Japanese base their claim to exclude Manchuria and Mongolia on a note dated the 2nd November, 1917, from the Secretary of State to their Ambassador at Washington, in which it is stated that:

"The Governments of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and, consequently, the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous."

The contention of the British group is that the statement does not support the interpretation placed upon it by the Japanese. The British group view the admission of special interests in China generally as excluding the claim to special interests in any particular portion of it. *Expressio unius exclusio alterius.*

The contention of the British group is borne out by the further statement in the same note, which opposes " . . . the acquisition by any government of any special rights or privileges that would affect the independence or territorial integrity of China, or that would deny to the subjects or citizens of any country the free enjoyment of equal opportunity in the commerce and industry of China."

I have pointed out to the representatives in London of the Japanese group that the effect of admitting their claim might be to provoke the revival of similar claims on the part of other nations—the French in southwestern China, our own in the Yang-tze Valley—thus stirring up just such difficulties as the new consortium is designed to obviate.

The main object of the American Government's proposals is to eliminate special claims in particular spheres of interest, and to throw open the whole of China without reserve to the combined activities of an international group.

This can hardly be done unless the parties concerned agree to sacrifice all claims to enjoy any industrial preference within the boundaries of any political spheres of influence, and to accept the position that a new start is to be made with a clean slate.

C. S. ADDIS

British Foreign Office to Japanese Ambassador

On the 22nd of last month Earl Curzon of Kedleston had the honor to address to the Japanese Ambassador a note on the subject of the British participation in the international consortium for providing loans to China. This note will have made it clear to Viscount Chinda that, with the exception of the condition concerning exclusive official support to the British group—a point which has been satisfactorily settled by the adoption of the American formula defining the measure of support to be accorded by the governments concerned to their respective national groups—His Majesty's Government have accepted in their entirety the original proposals of the American Government for the formation of the international consortium as set

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out in a note addressed by Lord Curzon to the Japanese Chargé d'Affaires on the 22d March last. This scheme, as Viscount Chinda is doubtless aware, comprises the pooling by the groups of all their existing and future options in China, except such concessions as may already be in operation.

His Excellency has probably also had occasion to study the minutes of the inter-group meeting held in Paris on the 11th and 12th May last, at which resolutions were unanimously adopted, subject of course to the approval of the governments concerned, providing for the pooling by the groups of all their existing loan agreements and options involving a public issue and even pledging the groups to use their best endeavors to induce other parties who may possess or control any such agreements or options to surrender the same to the consortium.

At the present moment the British, American, and French Governments have all informed their respective groups of their approval of these minutes, subject always to the American definition of the measure of official support to be accorded to them, but so far as Lord Curzon is aware no such approval has as yet been intimated by the Japanese Government, with the result that the urgent work of organizing the consortium has been brought to a standstill.

His Majesty's Government have heard, with the utmost regret, that the Japanese financial delegates in Paris, acting under instructions from their principals, have informed their colleagues that "all the rights and options held by Japan in the regions of Manchuria and Mongolia, where Japan has special interests, should be excluded from the arrangements for pooling provided for in the proposed agreement" because of "the very special relations which Japan enjoys geographically and historically with the regions referred to and which have been recognized by Great Britain, the United States, France, and Russia on many occasions."

His Majesty's Government are further informed that the position taken up by the British, American, and French groups toward this claim of the Japanese group was that any attempt to exclude Manchuria and Mongolia from the scope of the consortium would be inadmissible, but that the whole question raised was one of such grave importance that it was felt to be beyond the immediate competence of the groups to discuss and must therefore be referred to the decision of the Governments.

In these circumstances, His Majesty's Government feel justified in bringing this matter to the notice of the Japanese Government—as they hear has already been done by the American Government—and requesting them to direct the Japanese group to modify their attitude on this all-important point.

One of the fundamental objects of the American proposals, as accepted by the British, Japanese, and French Governments, is to eliminate special claims in particular spheres of interest and to throw open the whole of China without reserve to the combined activities of an international consortium. This object cannot be achieved unless all the parties to the scheme agree to sacrifice all claim to enjoy any industrial preference within the boundaries of any political sphere of influence. Manchuria and Mongolia are important provinces of China and any attempt to exclude them from the scope of the consortium would constitute a direct negation of the principle on which the consortium is based, would provoke the revival of similar claims on the part of other nations and thus perpetuate the very difficulties which the consortium is designed to obviate. Moreover, as all other parties to the arrangement except the Japanese group have agreed to pool their rights and options without other reservation than that contained in the terms of the agreement itself, it is only equitable that the same rule should apply to all alike.

His Majesty's Government have every reason to believe that the Japanese Government will share these views and will cause the Japanese group to withdraw their claim to the exclusion of Manchuria and Mongolia from the scope of the consortium.

Foreign Office, August 11, 1919

Following this exchange of notes, however, the Japanese Government on September 1, 1919, reaffirmed its position in the following memorandum:

The Japanese Government accept and confirm the resolutions adopted at the meetings of the representatives of the bankers' groups of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan at Paris on the 11th and 12th May, 1919, for the purpose of organizing an international consortium for financial business in China; provided, however, that the acceptance and confirmation of the said resolutions shall not be held or construed to operate to the prejudice of the special rights and interests possessed by Japan in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia.

The British reply was in the form of a memorandum dated at the Foreign Office on November 19, 1919.

On the 1st September his Excellency the Japanese Ambassador communicated to Earl Curzon of Kedleston the following memorandum: [quoting foregoing memorandum].

At a subsequent interview with Lord Curzon, Viscount Chinda, in accordance with instructions received from his Government, defined what was meant by South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia.

His Majesty's Government have now, after the most careful consideration of the Japanese contention, been forced to the conclusion that they could not justifiably accept the claim for the exclusion of Southern Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia from the sphere of activity of the consortium if it were intended as a territorial claim.

As was pointed out to the Japanese Ambassador in the memorandum communicated to his Excellency on the 11th August, the admission of such a claim to a monopoly of commercial interests in a large geographical area of China would be a direct infringement of the fundamental idea underlying the creation of the consortium, which was to abolish spheres of interest and throw open the whole of China to the activities of an international financial combination.

Lord Curzon, however, cannot help thinking that the Japanese Government must be laboring under a misapprehension as to the scope and purpose of the consortium. It is not and never has been intended that under the guise of the consortium vested interests should be encroached upon. Article 1 of the inter-group agreement of the 11th May last specifically lays down that agreements and options relating to industrial undertakings (including railways), upon which substantial progress has been made, need not be pooled. Indeed, the sphere of the new consortium is definitely limited to the financing of future undertakings in China and was never meant to extend to established industrial enterprises.

So far as Southern Manchuria is concerned, Lord Curzon recognizes that there are in that province important railways and other industrial enterprises which have been developed or are in course of development by Japanese enterprise and which are clearly not within the sphere of the consortium. Such is not, however, the case in Eastern Inner Mongolia where, although options for railways have been granted to Japan, no work has yet been begun. Indeed, such a claim as is put forward by the Japanese Government in regard to Eastern Inner Mongolia, amounting to the reservation of an exclusive interest in a large area whose southern boundaries practically envelop Peking and encroach upon the province of Chihli, cannot be reconciled with the maintenance of the independence and territorial integrity of China which Japan has so often pledged herself to observe.

It is confidently hoped, therefore, that, when the question is viewed in this light, the Japanese Government will see no objection to modify their present attitude as regards both South Manchuria and Inner Mongolia and will authorize the Japanese banking groups to enter into the new consortium on the same basis as the other groups, that is, without any special reservations.

The Japanese Government will also, no doubt, recognize the urgent need of promptitude in dealing with the situation, in view of the disastrous situation on the verge of which China appears now to find herself.

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Further Negotiations with Japan

On March 16, in the following memorandum to the British Government, the Japanese Government defined more exactly the nature of the special interests it sought to protect.

The Japanese Government have given their serious consideration to the British Government's note of the 19th November last relative to the formation of a new consortium. The British Government appear to be under the impression that the proposal of the Japanese Government in regard to South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia amounts either to the assertion of a monopoly of economic interests in that region or to the establishment of a so-called sphere of interest there, and further, that such a proposal cannot be reconciled with the principle of independence and territorial integrity of China.

The Japanese Government desire to set forth once again their views frankly on the purpose of their proposal and invite further consideration on the part of the British Government on this subject.

From the nature of the case the regions of South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, which are contiguous to our territory of Korea, stand in very close and special relations to Japan's national defense and her economic existence. Enterprises launched forth in these regions, therefore, often involve interests vital to the safety of our country. This is why Japan has special interests in these regions and has established there special rights of various kinds. The Japanese Government are under no misapprehension or misgiving as to the purpose of the organization of the consortium, and are glad to cooperate under such an arrangement with the Powers concerned for the promotion of the general welfare of China. But, as is suggested in the proposed consortium merely out of business considerations, to throw open to the common activities of an international financial combination even those enterprises in the regions of South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia which vitally affect the economic existence and national defense of Japan would be no safe way of providing for the national peace and security, and for this reason it would hardly meet with the approval of the public opinion in Japan. These considerations were fully set forth by Viscount Chinda in his interview with Lord Curzon on the 1st September last year.

Furthermore, the recent development of the Russian situation, exercising as it does an unwholesome influence upon the Far East, is a matter of grave concern to Japan; in fact, the conditions in Siberia, which have been developing with such alarming precipitancy of late, are by no means far from giving rise to a most serious situation, which may at any time take a turn threatening the safety of Japan and the peace of the Far East, and ultimately place the entire Eastern Asia at the mercy of the dangerous activities of extremist forces. Having regard to these signals of the imminent character of the situation, the Japanese Government all the more keenly feel the need of adopting measures calculated to avert any such danger in the interest of the Far East as well as of Japan. Now, South Manchuria and Mongolia are the gate by which this direful influence may effect its penetration into Japan and the Far East to the instant menace of their security. The Japanese Government are convinced that, having regard to the vital interests which Japan, as distinct from the other Powers, has in the regions of South Manchuria and Mongolia, the British Government will appreciate the circumstances which compelled the Japanese Government to make a special and legitimate reservation indispensable to the existence of the state and its people. . . .

Lord Curzon invited Viscount Chinda—if there is any fear that any project launched under the ægis of the consortium might threaten the strategic security of Japan—to guard against this danger by proposing a formula to meet the case. It is a cause of gratification to know that the British Government thus share the apprehensions entertained by the Japanese Government. In view of the foregoing considerations, the Japanese Government, while authorizing the Japanese bankers' group to enter the proposed consortium on the same footing as the bankers' groups of the other Powers concerned, venture to propose to achieve the settlement of the question at issue by exchanging between the governments concerned a note embodying the sense of the formula hereto attached.

Formula

The Japanese Government accept and confirm the resolutions passed at the conference of the representatives of the banking groups of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan which met at Paris on the 11th and 12th May, 1919, for the purpose of organizing a new consortium. In matters, however, relating to loans affecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, which in their opinion are calculated to create a serious impediment to the security of the economic life and national defense of Japan, the Japanese Government reserve the right to take the necessary steps to guarantee such security.

March 16, 1920

1. The South Manchurian Railway and its branches, together with the mines, which are subsidiary to the railway, are unaffected by the loans to be made. Hence they do not come within the scope of the common activities of the new consortium.

2. The construction of the Kirin-Changchun Railway, Sinminfu-Mukden Railway, and Ssupingkai-Chengchiatun Railway has been completed and their operation has already been commenced. They fall, therefore, within the category of those enterprises which, according to Article 2 of the proposed intergroup agreement, have already made substantial progress, and are outside the scope of the common activities of the new consortium.

3. The Kirin-Huening Railway, the Chengchiatun-Taonan-fu Railway, Changchun-Taonan-fu Railway, the Kaiyuan-Kirin Railway, and the Taonan-fu-Jehol Railway and the railway connecting a point on the Taonan-fu-Jehol Railway with a seaport are branch or feeding lines of the South Manchurian Railway. Moreover, having regard to the fact that, as set forth in the memorandum dated the 16th March, 1920, these lines, together with the South Manchurian Railway, not only bear the most important relation to the national defense of Japan, but also constitute a powerful factor in the maintenance of peace and order in the Far East, it is expected that they will be placed outside the scope of the common activities of the new consortium. Both the British and the American Governments have already agreed to the exclusion of most of these lines. It is not unlikely, however, that in case of any loan being floated in future in connection with these railways the European and American markets will be invited to subscribe to it.

A similar memorandum previously addressed to the United States Government was answered on March 16 thus:

The Government of the United States has received and carefully considered the memorandum under date of the 2nd March, 1920, in which the Japanese Ambassador set forth the views of his Government as to the formation of the proposed International Consortium for loans to China, and it is happy to record the hearty gratification with which it has noted the disavowal by Japan of any claim to exclusive economic or political rights with respect to South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. The American Government cannot but acknowledge, however, its grave disappointment that the formula proffered by the Japanese Government is in terms so exceedingly ambiguous and in character so irrevocable that it might be held to indicate a continued desire on the part of the Japanese Government to exclude the American, British, and French banking groups from participation in the development, for the benefit of China, of important parts of that republic, a construction which could not be reconciled with the principle of the independence and territorial integrity of China.

The Government of the United States is not unsympathetic with the professed objects of the principle embodied in the Japanese formula. It considers, on the other hand, first, that the right of national self-preservation is one of universal acceptance in the relations between states, and therefore would not require specific formula as to its application in any particular instance;

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and, second, that the recognition of that principle is implied in the terms of the notes exchanged between Secretary Lansing and Viscount Ishii on the 2d November, 1917. This Government therefore considers that by reason of the particular relationships of understanding thus existing between the United States and Japan, and those which, it is understood, similarly exist between Japan and the other Powers proposed to be associated with it in the consortium, there would appear to be no occasion to apprehend on the part of the consortium any activities directed against the economic life or national defense of Japan. It is therefore felt that Japan could, with entire assurance, rely upon the good faith of the United States and of the other two Powers associated in the consortium to refuse their countenance to any operation inimical to the vital interests of Japan, and that Japan's insistence that the other three Powers join with it in the proposed formula as a condition precedent would only create misapprehension. It is felt, moreover, that such a formula would not only be unnecessary, but would lend itself to misconstruction for the reason that it apparently differentiates between the status of South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia and that of other Chinese territory. The mere fact of differentiation would, it is apprehended, give rise to questions which would tend still further to unsettle the already complex situation in China. This Government is therefore hopeful that the Japanese Government may, in view of its several existing relationships of understanding with the United States and the other two Powers, be persuaded to rely upon their good faith in this matter and forego its proposal to require explicit guaranties, the mere statement of which opens the way for possible misconstruction and misapprehension in the future.

The Government of the United States has furthermore been happy to note the readiness of the Japanese Government to enumerate the specific vested interests of its nationals, in Manchuria and Mongolia, which it would propose to exclude from the scope of operations of the proposed consortium; although it finds it is difficult to believe that in order to meet the necessities of Japanese economic or political security it is essential for Japan alone to construct and control a railway line of such a character as the one projected from Taonan-fu to Jehol, and thence to the sea coast.

It is hoped that the discussions now in progress in Tokio between Mr. Lamont, on behalf of the American group, and the representative of the Japanese banking interests may result in such a complete understanding on the question of the specific enterprises in Manchuria and Mongolia which it may be found mutually satisfactory to exclude from the operation of the consortium as would enable the Japanese Government to accord to that understanding its unqualified approval.

In conclusion, the Government of the United States takes pleasure in the fact that the frank interchanges of views which have thus far taken place appear to have resulted in a basis of mutual understanding which justified the belief that a speedy completion of the organization of the consortium is now possible.

The Japanese memorandum of March 16 to the British Government and its inclosed formula resulted in a lengthy exchange of notes between the Governments of Japan and Great Britain.

I. *Great Britain to Japan*

His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, having carefully studied the memorandum and formula communicated by his Excellency the Japanese Ambassador on the 16th March relative to the position of South Manchuria and East Inner Mongolia under the proposed consortium, has the honor to make the following observations:

In the memorandum handed to Viscount Chinda on the 20th November last, Lord Curzon clearly enunciated the objections felt by His Majesty's Government to the Japanese claim to exclude from the sphere of the consortium a large geographical area of China, and he is now regretfully forced to the conclusion that little or no modification of this original attitude is to be found in the wording of the formula suggested. The phrase which runs:

"In matters relating to loans affecting South Manchuria and East Inner Mongolia, which in their opinion are calculated to create a serious impediment to the security of the economic life and national defense of Japan, the Japanese Government reserve the right to take the necessary steps to guarantee such security," is so ambiguous and general in character that it might be held to indicate on the part of the Japanese Government a continued desire to exclude the cooperation of the other three banking groups from participating in the development, for China's benefit, of important parts of the Chinese Republic, and therefore creates the impression that the Japanese reservation cannot be reconciled with the principle of the independence and the realization of the integrity of China.

While His Majesty's Government clearly recognize the legitimate desire of the Japanese nation to be assured of the supplies of food and raw material necessary to her economic life and her justifiable wish strategically to protect and maintain the Korean frontier, they find it impossible to believe that, in order to meet such needs, it is essential for Japan alone to construct and control, for instance, the three railway lines mentioned in the third reservation lying to the west of the South Manchurian Railway.

In order, however, to meet as far as possible the wishes of the Japanese Government and at the same time to avoid the mention of specific areas, which rightly or wrongly might give rise to the impression that a special sphere of interest was being officially recognized, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to subscribe to a written assurance to the effect that the Japanese Government need have no reason to apprehend that the consortium would direct any activities affecting the security of the economic life and national defense of Japan, and they can firmly rely on the good faith of the Powers concerned to refuse to countenance any operations inimical to such interests.

Foreign Office, March 19, 1920

II. *Japan's Two Propositions*

The Japanese Government have received the memorandum of the British Government dated the 19th March, 1920, giving frank expression to their views again upon the proposal of Japan relative to the organization of a new consortium for loans to China and have taken it into their careful consideration. . . .

. . . After deliberate consideration, the Japanese Government, relying upon the promise of the British Government to give them a written assurance to the effect that they fully recognize the fundamental principle of safeguarding the integrity of the national defense and the economic existence of Japan as proposed by Japan, so that the Japanese Government have no occasion to apprehend that the new consortium would embark upon any activities affecting the national defense and the economic existence of Japan and so that the Powers concerned would refuse their countenance to any enterprise inimical to such Japanese interests, have come to the decision to accept most willingly the suggestion of the British Government and to forego their demand for the acceptance of the proposed formula on the part of the other interested Powers on condition that these Powers agree to the above understanding as formulated by the British Government.

As to the railway and other enterprises which Japan naturally expects will be excluded from the scope of the common activities of the new consortium, the British Government express a doubt as to whether it is essential for Japan alone to construct and control the three railway lines running west of the South Manchurian Railway. The Taonan-fu-Jehol Railway, and the lines connecting a point thereon with a seaport, were projected with the strategic object of making it a means of common defense on the part of China and Japan against foreign invasion coming from the direction of Urga, quite apart from the further object of facilitating development of the districts through which these lines run. It is therefore a matter of great regret and surprise to the Japanese Government that there exists the misunderstanding that these railways will

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eventually prove a menace to Peking. It is confidently hoped that Japan's position in this connection may be fully appreciated by the British Government. The Japanese Government, mindful as they are of the common interests of the Powers, have no objection to a scheme of making these two railways a joint enterprise of the new consortium; but, having regard to the particular relation in which Japan stands to these railways, it is hoped that the British Government will lend their full support to the following two propositions:

1. In the event of the new consortium projecting in future a scheme of extending the Taonan-fu-Jehol Railway to the north with a view to connecting them with the Eastern Chinese Railway, the assent of the Japanese Government thereto must be obtained beforehand, through the Japanese group, inasmuch as such an extension—being tantamount to a renewal of the so-called Chinchou-Aigun Railway scheme, against which a protest was lodged by Japan when the question was mooted some years ago—is calculated to have a serious effect upon the South Manchurian Railway.

2. In consideration of the particular desire of Japan that these two lines should be built as speedily as possible, the Japanese group, after due consultation with the other groups, may be permitted to undertake their construction singlehanded in the event of the other three Powers associated in the new consortium being reluctant to finance it. In that case, having regard to the fact that these railways must cross the Peking-Mukden Railway at a certain point, the British Government will use their best endeavors towards bringing to a happy conclusion the negotiations which the Japanese financiers may enter upon with their British colleagues with a view to perfecting the junction of these lines.

As regards concrete questions as to which of the options that Japan possesses at present in Manchuria and Mongolia in respect to railways is to be excluded, in accordance with the understanding reached between the Governments of Great Britain and Japan, from the scope of the common activities of the new consortium, it is believed that a satisfactory settlement will be reached through the discussions now proceeding in Tokio, with the cognizance of the American and Japanese Governments, between Mr. Lamont, who, besides being the representative of the American group, is understood to have certain definite understandings on the subject with both the British and French groups, and the representatives of the Japanese banking group. The Japanese Government will therefore authorize the Japanese group to proceed with the discussion with Mr. Lamont for the purpose of arriving at a conclusive settlement of questions of this nature.

Japanese Embassy, London, April 14, 1920

III. *The British Reply*

His Majesty's Government have received the further memorandum of the Imperial Japanese Government of the 14th April, and after having given it their careful consideration, have the honor to reply as follows:

His Majesty's Government are much gratified to learn that the Japanese Government are prepared to accept the written assurance to which Lord Curzon declared his willingness to subscribe in his note to Viscount Chinda of the 19th March, and that provided the other Powers agree to give a similar assurance, the Imperial Government are willing to forego the request which they had made in their note of the 16th March that the Powers interested should accept the formula, the wording of which had appeared somewhat ambiguous in character.

As regards the two propositions mentioned in the Japanese Government's memorandum under reply, His Majesty's Government much regret that the Imperial Government should have raised these questions at a moment when it was hoped that the four Powers interested were about to reach an agreement on the basis of a compromise which Mr. Lamont, the representative of the American banking group, appeared to have reached in Tokio with the representatives of the Japanese group. His Majesty's Government fear that if the discussion of these propositions is insisted upon it will merely delay matters, and in the interests of all parties concerned they sincerely trust that the Imperial Government will be willing to withdraw them and to be satisfied with the general assurance to which His Majesty's Government have already offered to subscribe, and which the Imperial Government have just expressed their readiness to accept.

In order to meet the wishes of the Imperial Government, His Majesty's Government are prepared to agree to the terms of the compromise proposed by Mr. Lamont in Tokio and to waive the objections which they had at one time offered to the exclusion from the consortium of the two projected railway lines from Taonan-fu to Changchun and from Taonan-fu to Chengchiatun.

As regards proposition (1), Japan practically asks for a right to veto the construction by the consortium of a line from Taonan-fu to join the Chinese Eastern Railway, on the grounds that such an extension would be tantamount to a renewal of the so-called Chinchou-Aigun railway scheme, against which Japan had lodged a protest some years ago. His Majesty's Government have no wish to do anything which would conflict with the vital interests of their ally, and the assurance to which they have declared their willingness to subscribe would appear fully to safeguard Japan's interests. It appears to His Majesty's Government that with the establishment of the consortium a new era is about to dawn in which conditions have changed, and it is now proposed that the Powers should work together in harmonious and friendly cooperation rather than in competition; and granting to any one party to the consortium the power to veto in advance the possible construction of a railway would appear to be contrary to the principles upon which the idea of the consortium is based.

In the opinion of His Majesty's Government, the contingency anticipated in proposition (2) would appear to be already provided for in Article 4 of the Inter-Group Conference at Paris of the 12th May, 1919, of which His Majesty's Government have expressed their approval. . . .

Foreign Office, April 28, 1920

IV. *Japan Offers a Concession*

The Japanese Government have received the memorandum of the British Government, dated the 28th April, in reply to their memorandum of the 14th April last, and have carefully examined it. . . .

As regards the two points made by the Japanese Government relating to the Taonan-fu-Jehol Railway and the line connecting a point thereon with a seaport, the British Government seem to think that they constitute new propositions, and express regret that these questions should have been raised at a moment when it was hoped that the four Powers concerned were about to reach an agreement. In particular, the British Government appear to be of opinion that the point (1), namely, Japan's desire in regard to the extension of the Taonan-fu-Jehol Railway, is tantamount to a claim for an exclusive power of veto, and is therefore contrary to the fundamental principles upon which the idea of the new consortium is based. The Japanese Government, in making the point in question, were prompted by no desire of putting forward any new condition or demand. It was simply in order to avoid further misunderstanding that the point was raised as one of the actual examples of enterprises prejudicial to Japan's vital interests which formed the subject matter of the general assurances given by the British Government. The Japanese Government feel confident that, as the question involved in this case comes within the scope of the general assurances, the governments of the Powers interested in the consortium will, in the spirit of mutual trust and friendliness, readily appreciate Japan's point of view. As to the point (2), the Japanese Government have raised it merely in order to set forth the circumstances in which they feel the need of the assistance and cooperation of the Powers concerned in the actual construction of the Taonan-fu-Jehol Railway and the lines connecting a point thereon with a seaport.

In thus giving a frank expression to their hope, the Japanese Government were inspired by no other desire than to make an

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appeal to the spirit of general cooperation which forms the foundation of the consortium.

The Japanese Government, holding as they do the views as above enunciated, have no intention whatever of insisting upon obtaining the explicit assurances or consent of the British Government in regard to the two points above referred to. Their idea is simply to bring the Powers concerned to an understanding of their interpretation in these respects. Relying, however, upon the friendly spirit in which the British Government were good enough to reaffirm the fact that the general assurances to which they have already offered to subscribe are adequate enough to safeguard the interests of Japan, the Japanese Government would refrain from further insisting upon the discussion of these points, and in order to facilitate the formation of the new consortium with the least possible delay, they would be satisfied at this juncture with bringing to the knowledge of the British Government their interpretation of these questions, and will be prepared to lend their support to the conclusion of an arrangement between the banking groups concerned and to give it the necessary confirmation.

Japanese Embassy, London, May 10, 1920

On May 17, 1920, the British Foreign Office expressed its gratification at the tone and substance of the Japanese memorandum of May 10 and its hope that the Japanese group would receive from the Government prompt authorization to proceed with arrangements for the consortium.

The American and Japanese Groups Reach an Agreement

The final arrangements between the American and Japanese banking groups are indicated in the following letter addressed by the London representative of the Japanese group to Sir Charles S. Addis of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation:

7 Bishopsgate, London, May 17, 1920

Dear Sir Charles:

I have received a cablegram from my principals in Japan informing me the text of correspondence which passed in Tokio on the 11th instant between Mr. Kajiwara, president of the Yokohama Specie Bank (Limited), representing the Japanese group, and Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, representing the American group, and I have much pleasure in communicating to you the tenor of the correspondence.

The Japanese group wrote to the following effect:

"You will recall that upon the organization of the consortium at Paris on the 11th and 12th May last the representatives of the Japanese, American, British, and French banking groups attached their signatures to the resolutions and agreement subject to the approval of their respective Governments. You will further recall that, upon the instructions of the Japanese Government, our banking group addressed you a letter dated the 18th June last as regards the conditions of accepting the new consortium agreement.

"We have now the honor to inform you that certain points in the agreement and in the operations of the proposed consortium, hitherto somewhat obscure, having been cleared up to the satisfaction of our Government and ourselves, we are now able, in accordance with the instructions of the Japanese Government, to withdraw our letter dated the 18th June last, and announce that conjointly with the American, British, and French banking groups, and on like terms with them, we will accept the consortium agreement. We beg at the same time to express our hearty concurrence with the general idea and objects of the consortium in respect to China."

And the American group replied:

"We beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your communication of the 11th May informing us in behalf of the Japanese banking group that under the instructions of your Government you have now withdrawn your letter dated the 18th June last, and have adopted, in association with the banking groups of America, Great Britain, and France, and on like terms with them, the agreement for the establishment of a new consortium in respect to China.

"We are happy to note that certain points somewhat obscure to your group and to your Government have now been made plain, and we trust with you that the way is clear for the consortium to undertake operations.

"Inasmuch as some questions have arisen during our discussions as to the status of specific railway enterprises contemplated or actually begun in Manchuria and Mongolia, we hereby confirm that we have agreed with you as follows:

"1. That the South Manchurian Railway and its present branches, together with the mines which are subsidiary to the railway, do not come within the scope of the consortium.

"2. That the projected Taonan-fu-Jehol Railway and the projected railway connecting a point on the Taonan-fu-Jehol Railway with a seaport are to be included within the terms of the consortium agreement.

"3. That the Kirin-Huening, the Chengchiatun-Taonan-fu, the Changchun-Taonan-fu, the Kaiyuan-Kirin via Hailung, the Kirin-Changchun, the Sinmin-fu-Mukden, and the Ssupinkai-Chengchiatun railways are outside the scope of the joint activities of the consortium.

"The foregoing letter of acknowledgment, although written in behalf of the American banking group, has, we are assured, the cordial approval of the British and French banking groups, also of the Governments of the United States, of Great Britain, and of France."

I am now desired to ask that you furnish me with a letter of acknowledgment from the British group for transmission to my principals in Japan, and perhaps you will be so good as to communicate the contents of this letter to the French group with a request that they will also provide me with a letter of acknowledgment.

With many thanks in advance,

Yours faithfully,
K. Tatsumi.

China Is Notified

Just prior to the conclusion of the final consortium agreement a note from the French, Japanese, American, and British representatives in Peking was presented to the Chinese Government explaining the purposes of the consortium and inclosing copies of the documents relating to the negotiations.

The China Consortium Agreement

The final text of the consortium agreement concluded at New York on October 15, 1920, by representatives of the four banking groups and approved by the British, American, French, and Japanese Governments is as follows:

An agreement made the 15th day of October, 1920, between—

The Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, having its office at 9 Gracechurch Street, in the City of London (hereinafter called "the Hong Kong Bank") of the first part;

The Banque de l'Indo-Chine, having its office at 15*bis*, Rue Laffitte, Paris (hereinafter called "the French Bank") of the second part;

The Yokohama Specie Bank, Limited, having its office at Yokohama in Japan (hereinafter called "the Japanese Bank") of the third part; and

Messrs. J. P. Morgan and Co., Messrs. Kuhn Loeb and Co., The National City Bank of New York, Chase National Bank, New York, The Guaranty Trust Company of New York, Messrs. Lee, Higginson and Co. of Boston, and the Continental and Commercial Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago (hereinafter called "the American Managers"), acting as to the United Kingdom by Messrs. Morgan, Grenfell and Co., of 22 Old Broad Street, in the City of London, and as to France by Messrs. Morgan Harjes and Co. of Paris, of the fourth part;

Whereas the Hong Kong Bank, the French Bank, the Japa-

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nese Bank, and the American Managers are acting for the purposes of this agreement as the representatives of the British, French, Japanese, and American groups, respectively;

And, whereas, the British, French, Japanese, and American groups were formed with the object of negotiating and carrying out Chinese loan business;

And, whereas, their respective Governments have undertaken to give their complete support to their respective national groups the parties hereto in all operations undertaken pursuant to the agreement hereinafter contained and have further undertaken that in the event of competition in the obtaining of any specific loan contract the collective support of the diplomatic representatives in Peking of the four Governments will be assured to the parties hereto for the purpose of obtaining such contract;

And, whereas, the said national groups are of the opinion that the interests of the Chinese people can in existing circumstances best be served by the cooperative action of the various banking groups representing the investment interests of their respective countries in procuring for the Chinese Government the capital necessary for a program of economic reconstruction and improved communications;

And, whereas, with these objects in view the respective national groups are prepared to participate on equal terms in such undertakings as may be calculated to assist China in the establishment of her great public utilities and to these ends to welcome the cooperation of Chinese capital,

Now it is hereby agreed by and between the parties hereto as follows:

1. Each group reserves to itself the right of increasing or reducing the number of its own members, but so that any member of a group dropping out shall remain bound by the restrictive provisions hereof and any member of a group coming in shall become subject to the restrictive provisions hereof and so that no group shall (without the consent of the others) be entitled to admit into its group a new member who is not of its nationality and domiciled in its market. The admission of any new group shall be determined by the parties hereto subject to the approval of their respective Governments.

2. This agreement relates to existing and future loan agreements which involve the issue for subscription by the public of loans to the Chinese Government or to Chinese Government departments or to provinces of China or to companies or corporations owned or controlled by or on behalf of the Chinese Government or any Chinese Provincial Government or to any party if the transaction in question is guaranteed by the Chinese Government or Chinese Provincial Government, but does not relate to agreements for loans to be floated in China. Existing agreements relating to industrial undertakings upon which it can be shown that substantial progress has been made may be omitted from the scope of this agreement.

3. The existing agreements and any future loan agreements to which this agreement relates and any business arising out of such agreements respectively shall be dealt with by the said groups in accordance with the provisions of this agreement.

4. This agreement is made on the principle of complete equality in every respect between the parties hereto and each of the parties hereto shall take an equal share in all operations and sign all contracts and shall bear an equal share of all charges in connection with any business (except stamp duties and any charges of and in connection with the realization by the parties hereto in their respective markets of their shares in the operations) and the parties hereto shall conclude all contracts with equal rights and obligations as between themselves, and each party shall have the same rights, privileges, prerogatives, advantages, responsibilities, and obligations of every sort and kind. Accordingly, preliminary advances on account of or in connection with business to which this agreement relates shall be borne by each of the parties hereto in equal shares and each of the parties hereto shall be entitled to participate equally in the existing agreements and will offer to the other parties hereto an equal participation with itself in any future loan business falling within the scope of this agreement. Should one or more of the parties hereto decline a participation in the existing agreements

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or any of them or in any such future loan business as aforesaid the party or parties accepting a participation therein shall be free to undertake the same but shall issue on its or their markets only.

5. All contracts shall so far as possible be made so as not to impose joint liability on the parties hereto but each of the parties hereto shall severally liquidate its own engagements or liabilities. The parties hereto will so far as possible come to an understanding with regard to the realization of the operations, but so that such realization in whatever manner this may take place shall be for the separate benefit of each of the parties hereto as regards their respective participations therein and so that each of the parties hereto shall be entitled to realize its participation in the operations only in its own market, it being understood that the issues in the respective markets are to be made at substantial parity.

6. Any one or more of the parties hereto who shall have accepted its or their participation in any business hereunder shall be entitled by notice in writing to call upon the other or others of the parties hereto who propose to issue their own respective participations to issue for the account of the party or parties giving such notice or notices either all or one-half of the amount which may constitute the participation of the party or parties giving such notice or notices and the party or parties so called upon shall issue the said amount or amounts (hereinafter called "the residuary participation") specified in such notice or notices upon and subject to the terms and conditions following, viz.:

(1.) Such notice or notices must be received by the other or others of the parties hereto before the execution of the final agreement for the issue of the loan or (in the case of an issue of a part only of the loan) of so much thereof as the parties hereto may from time to time agree to issue.

(2.) The party or parties to whom such notice or notices shall have been given shall be entitled to decide among themselves and without reference to the party or parties giving such notice or notices as to which one or more of them shall issue the residuary participation, but in default of any such decision they shall issue the same equally between them.

(3.) In issuing the residuary participation no distinction shall be made between the residuary participation and the amount or amounts issued on its or their own account by the party or parties issuing the residuary participation, which shall in all respects be subject to the conditions of the respective syndicates which may be formed for the purpose of effecting the issue.

(4.) Each of the parties issuing the residuary participation shall be entitled to decide for itself and without reference to the party or parties giving such notice or notices as to what expenses shall be incurred in relation to the issue of the total amount issued by such party.

(5.) The party or parties issuing the residuary participation shall be entitled between them to charge the party or parties giving such notice or notices with a commission of not exceeding 1½ per cent on the nominal amount of the residuary participation and also with a pro-rata share of the total expenses which the issuing party or parties may in their sole discretion incur in relation to the whole issue and being in the proportion which the residuary participation bears to the total nominal amount of the issue.

(6.) The party or parties issuing the residuary participation shall not by virtue of this agreement incur any responsibility to subscribe for the residuary participation or to cause the same to be subscribed.

(7.) Each party issuing the residuary participation shall apply all subscriptions received by it pro rata between the residuary participation issued by it and the amount issued by such party on its own account.

(8.) Each of the parties issuing the residuary participation will apply for and use its best endeavors to obtain a quotation on its market for the total amount issued by it.

(9.) No issue of the residuary participation or any part thereof shall be made by the party or parties giving such notice or notices unless mutually agreed by the parties hereto.

7. No participation shall be given by any one of the parties hereto outside its own market. Any participation given in its own market by any one of the parties hereto shall be for its own

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account only, or, in the event of the issue including any of the residuary participation, for the accounts pro rata of the issuing bank and the party or parties giving such notice or notices as aforesaid and in giving any such participation the party giving the same shall use its best endeavors to secure that no part of such participation shall be transferred to parties outside the market of the party giving the same. Any other participation shall be given only with the consent of all parties hereto and shall be borne in equal shares by the parties hereto.

8. This agreement shall remain in force for the period of five years from the date hereof provided nevertheless that a majority of the parties hereto may by twelve months' previous notice in writing addressed to the other parties hereto determine this agreement at any time.

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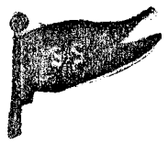

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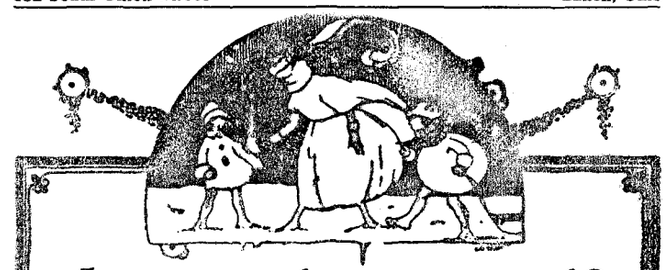

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